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The Persistence of Place in Appalachia: The Phenomena of Post-Death Migration, 1930-1970

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THE PHENOMENA OF POST-DEATH MIGRATION, 1930-1970

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my daughter,
Ashley Wilson Farris-Trimble
and to my
son-in-law
Michael Joseph Trimble
with deep appreciation and love
for their encouragement
and outspoken belief that this was
a valuable endeavor for their mom
to undertake.

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ABSTRACT

The research for this paper has been over forty years in the making as I first read the obituaries of deceased Kentuckians in state and local newspapers beginning in 1972. A pattern became clear that Kentuckians who had left their mountains and moved to northern industrial cities in order to find work as the coal fields played out and after the Great Depression often returned, or were returned after death, to their birthplaces for burial. Further investigation revealed that the religious beliefs that were deeply embedded in so many mountaineers' lives played a large part in their desire to have their final resting place near where they had been born and had grown to adulthood. A study of the obituaries of residents of selected counties supported the thesis that the return home at or after death was influenced in part by their religious upbringing that did not change as they moved north, even after decades of residence in northern cities. Microfilm of area newspapers offered insight into the ways that Kentuckians laid their family members to rest, and provided a way to compare death and burial in two discrete sections of the state.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"Mountain people are religious. This does not necessarily mean that we all go to church regularly, but we are religious in the sense that most of our values and the meaning we see in life spring from religious sources. Formally organized churches that the early settlers were a part of required an educated clergy and centralized organization, impractical requirements in the wilderness, and so autonomous sects sprang up. These individualistic churches stressed the fundamentals of the faith and depended on local resources and leadership." Loyal Jones, *Appalachian Values*[1]

When east Kentuckians, as part of the Appalachian "Great Migration," moved north and west to find jobs and sustainability in the first half of the twentieth century, they took with them their religious beliefs. Uprooting individuals and families and finding familiar settings in northern cities and communities required migrants to employ the most portable asset that they possessed: their religious faith and practices. These early migrant churchgoers were infused with a sense of individualism cloaked in the warmth of kinfolk, a sense that as long as they could connect with family and friends, especially through their religion, they could withstand the differences that their new lives among northerners presented. Nevertheless, they clung to their origins in the mountains and returned as often as was practicable. It is this sense of returning to their religious roots that spawned the practice of bringing the deceased back to family cemeteries for burial, a different form of migration: the post-death migration.

Writing in 2000, Phillip J. Obermiller and Ray Rappold alluded to the practice of post-death migration as an indicator of the rate of assimilation of migrant east Kentuckians as they moved both north and west seeking a better life for themselves and their children.[2] As east Kentuckians, they straddled both the geographical and cultural divide between their birthplaces and their new status as residents of larger communities,

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[1] Loyal Jones, *Appalachian Values* (Ashland, KY: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 1994), 34.

[2] Phillip J. Obermiller and Kathryn M. Borman, eds., *From Mountain to Metropolis: Appalachian Migrants in American Cities* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1994), 30.

places with very different lifestyles and habits. According to the authors, returning the deceased loved ones to the mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia for burial in family plots was in itself a form of migration. Obermiller and Rappold wrote that "[M]igrants may not be returned to the region for burial in meaningful numbers; yet wherever the burial takes place, Appalachians' consistent adherence to particular funeral customs makes them easily identifiable as a distinctive cultural group."[3] Although the authors suggest that "Appalachian post-death migration is a relatively minor phenomenon,"[4] no statistical information is provided to support that belief.

Additionally, and for the purposes of this paper, reference is made to Obermiller and Rappold's declaration that "[A]nother important aspect of Appalachian funeral services is the role of religion."[5] In this thesis, evidence, as found in present-day obituaries, helps to support this theory that religion played a definable part in the choice of burial sites for those who had migrated. "The funeral is an important social occasion for urban Appalachian families. . . .they maintain funeral customs that distinguish them clearly from other urban cultural groups."[6] The removal to the mountain homelands of those who had died or were near death was a form of voluntary migration, *a post-death migration*.

As a statistical tool, information in obituaries dating from 1930 to 1969 has been gathered in a survey of those whose death information includes survivors, particularly siblings and children, who live in northern, predominantly industrial cities, including Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis, and Detroit as well as other areas offering large numbers of employment figures in the early part of the twentieth century, such as Hamilton, Ohio, with its large paper factory. It is reasonable to believe that the evidence of near relatives still living in those areas can be attributed to the earlier influx of migrants from eastern Kentucky

The examination of why the mountain migrants, especially in rural families, clung so closely to their religious upbringing and practices is of importance in exploring the

[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 31.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

connection for migrants of their relationship to the land. Understanding the effects that leaving that land for better jobs, while experiencing lesser integration, helps those interested in the causes and results of out-migration. Mountain folk's movement into the prevailing urban societies with such names as Cincinnati, Chicago, Detroit, and smaller areas such as Hamilton County, Ohio was a formidable task. A study of the factors involved in the practice of post-death migration, whether numerically small or large, must include an overview of the economic opportunities, or lack thereof, in the mountain counties of Kentucky during the years 1930 to1969 as well as a study of the spiritual lives of migrants both in Kentucky and in the northern cities to which they fled. An examination of the prevailing culture, the diaspora in northern locations, and a look at similar denominations in the north as well as an understanding of mountain religion provides an explanation, at least a suggestion, of why deceased relatives have been brought to the eastern Kentucky mountains for burial. Additionally, a review of obituaries from several eastern counties reveals an estimate of the numbers that moved north but who returned voluntarily or were returned after death to their home counties for burial.

Chapter 2

The Economy: "We Live On Beans and Bread"

Appalachia, a specific region in the eastern United States, may be defined in different ways: geographically, the Appalachian Mountains extend from the southern tip of New York, through Pennsylvania, West Virginia, into parts of Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and the eastern counties of Mississippi. A tiny prong of mountain also juts into Tennessee from the northern edge of Alabama. West Virginia is the only state that is entirely within the Appalachian Mountains. The Appalachian Regional Commission [ARC], established in 1965, defined the region in terms of those with "economic need . . . rather than any cultural parameters."[7] In addition to the geographic and economic definitions, the supposed culture of the Appalachian inhabitants lends a different, but just as accurate, portrayal of who the mountaineers were. In the 1890s, William Goodell Frost, then president of Berea College, wrote that "Appalachian America included 194 counties in eight states."[8] That definition was amended several decades later when John C. Campbell published *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* expanding the earlier map by Frost to include "254 counties in nine states.'"[9] Probably the feature that best identifies the residents of Appalachia was and is ethnicity as exemplified in the importance of family life and the distinct linguistic styles that exhibit change as residents with a more clipped speech from southern New York State descend through the mid-Appalachians to the more drawn out vocalization speech patterns of the southern mountains. The out-migrations to cities in northern states, estimated at seven million between 1940 and 1960, actually helped to preserve the distinct language patterns as migrants' longer residence in urban enclaves functioned to preserve the speech and culture of the Appalachians.[10] Nevertheless, migrants often were painfully aware that their dialect identified them as "unintelligent or

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[7] Rudy Abramson, introduction to *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), xix—xxv.

[8] John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 11-14.

[9] John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), 12.

[10] Kirk Hazen and Sarah Hamilton, "A Dialect Turned Inside Out: Migration and the Appalachian Diaspora," *Journal of English Linguistics* 36, no. 3 (June 2008): 106.

uneducated."[11] David Newhall suggests that by far the largest percentage, possibly as much as 90 percent, of the earliest settlers in Appalachia were European Anglo-Scottish coming from the border counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire as well as from a number of the lowland Scottish counties.[12] According to Newhall, although these immigrants were often described as being "Scottish Highlanders," they were more apt to have come from the "Anglo-Scottish border region."[13] Additionally, German, Welsh, German-speaking Swiss, Italians, and Eastern Europeans entered the mountain coal-mining regions bringing with them their expertise, their languages, their cultures, and their religious practices.[14] For the purposes of this paper, the emphasis is on the Appalachian mid-section that includes the western counties of West Virginia and the eastern counties of Knox, Harlan, Johnson, Letcher, and Powell in Kentucky. In comparison, counties that lay in the central or western parts of the state were included: Madison, Fayette, Jefferson, Kenton, and Adair.

Any examination of the history of Appalachian counties, particularly the mountain counties of eastern Kentucky, quickly reveals that there exist almost as many different viewpoints of the area as there are people involved. For decades, it was fashionable, yet misleading, to define this area as poverty-stricken, backward, and powerless. The range of books and articles that either attested to or denied this characterization is extensive, and the researcher who desires an accurate picture needs to delve deeply into the existing literature in order to fully understand the best and worst of Appalachian life. Even then, the skill of either the exponent or critic of Appalachia can skew a viewpoint, and that viewpoint can, in many instances, invite or deny access to those who can influence the lives of mountaineers, especially younger people who may have one foot planted firmly in the lands of their ancestors and the other foot already headed out of the mountains toward a different way of life.

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[11] Ibid., 112.

[12] David Newhall, "English," in *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 254.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Hufford, Mary, *Ethnographic Overview Assessment: New River Gorge National River and Gauley River National Recreation Area*. The Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania: Northeast Region Ethnography Program National Park Service (September 2007): 83.

In their work as historians of Appalachian culture, professors Ronald L. Lewis of West Virginia University and Dwight B. Billings of the University of Kentucky sought to correct the belief that Appalachian culture is one of "isolationism, homogeneity, familism, and fundamentalism."[15] This attitude toward those living in the mountain states of Appalachia began to take shape in the 1960s and 1970s as a political lens was trained on a people who did not quite fit the image that Americans were striving to create. The acceptance of Appalachians as requiring salvation in an economic sense grew, understandably, from the out-migration of the 1930s through the early 1960s as they, like many Americans in other parts of the country, were recovering from the lingering economic effects of the Great Depression. Those who came to the mountains to try to correct what seemed to be wrong saw a "pre-modern . . . culture" and a people who might be "retreating into a culture of poverty," and assumed that at some point they had thrown off the weight of poverty at an earlier time.[16] As Lewis and Billings explained, social systems are bound together in the exchanges of "money, power, influence, and values," and if a region is perceived as "dysfunctional," then it must be that changes are necessary, changes in this instance in the values held by those living in Appalachia.[17] Modernization became the key word and the umbrella of what many saw as the "wrongs of Appalachia." Better roads, improved educational opportunities, and even enlightened religious practices could not help but bring peace and prosperity to an area that too many saw as underdeveloped, archaic, insular, and tribal. Like the American Indian, the people of Appalachia were made subject to the white man's version of what they should and must be, a version that overlooked the fact that many Appalachians, if not all, shared the same European heritage as those who sought to change them. What Appalachians valued must be reformed before they could emulate the financial benefits that the rest of the country enjoyed.

A slightly different viewpoint expressed in the ways in which outsiders intermingled in the lives of mountaineers concerned the role of religion in the conflict between those who were determined to extract as much coal as possible from the

[15] Ronald L. Lewis and Dwight B. Billings, "Appalachian Culture and Economic Development," abstract *Change in Rural Appalachia, Implications for Action Programs* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 1.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 2.

mountains and those who lived in and valued the mountain way of life.[18] The debates that ensued regarding mountaintop removal clearly exposed the ways in which Americans often saw Appalachian dwellers as the stewards of the mountains and their resources versus those who denied big business an opportunity to add to the wealth of the country and to themselves. Embodied in these debates were ideas of what was meant by "progress, freedom, citizenship, and private property."[19] In a work cited by Joseph Dylan Witt, Dwight Billings and Will Samson argued that religious resistance to mountaintop removal was based on the "power of language" both in the expression of religion as well as in "establishing and maintaining power dynamics" and was a major factor encountered by those who believed they were working to improve the lives of mountaineers.[20]

Witt further explained that early writers, both in fiction and in scholarly materials, contributed to the perception of Appalachia as "inhabited by technologically backward people . . ." who were "markedly distinct from the rest of the nation . . . ."[21] Appalachians on their own could not lift themselves out of poverty; outsiders were needed to save them from themselves. Witt pointed out that sometimes it was the mountaineers themselves who contributed to the mistaken image of their people. Preachers, teachers, and those with a vested interest in seeing Appalachian dwellers as "unintellectual and individualistic, emotional, and fatalistic" perpetuated the image of a withdrawn, isolationist segment of humanity that refused to change. One observer, Emma Bell Miles, an accomplished writer and author of the late nineteenth century, was willing to excuse the faults of preachers and others who created the prevailing image of Appalachian culture because she saw them as sincere and humble, two traits that could not be ignored by the rest of the country.[22] In contrast to participants like Miles, who, at least, was willing to excuse what she saw as a flawed, yet "sincere and humble" segment of America, was a Presbyterian minister who worked in Appalachia in the fifties and sixties. Jack E. Weller declared the "folk religion [as] self-centered, not God centered" with the Bible as a "magical book" that the mountaineer revered but revered without

[18] Joseph Dylan Witt, "The Faith to Save Mountains: Religion and Resistance to Mountain top Removal Coal Mining in Appalachia" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2011), 26.
[19] Ibid., 29.
[20] Ibid., 33.
[21] Ibid., 36.
[22] Ibid., 39.

"scholarship or learning."[23] Later, as more people examined the lives of Appalachians, especially in regard to their religious practices, scholars came to see that there was a need for an "unbiased stud[y] of the region's religious history," and the Appalachian Studies Center was organized at Berea College chaired by Loyal Jones.[24] Jones' work emphasized the "diversity of Christian denominations in Appalachia" as opposed to the ways in which writers such as Miles and Weller portrayed them.

To be fair, problems were occurring in other regions, but as the economic health of the country slowly improved post-Depression, that improvement was not always reflected in the economic health of eastern Kentucky counties. Following the events of World War II, the United States largely escaped the devastation that resulted in Europe and parts of Asia. Many of the technological inventions that had occurred as a by-product of the war were re-purposed in ways that improved the daily lives of Americans. The discipline of a military man turned American president was evident as Dwight D. Eisenhower managed to maintain a balanced budget while keeping taxes low.[25] Veterans were able to go to college on the G. I. Bill, and America's industry ran on domestic, hence cheaper, oil. Prior to Eisenhower's presidency, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal provided a safety net for many workers; programs such as Social Security, for example, were expanded, not destroyed, and an additional ten million people joined the ranks of those receiving a monthly check upon retirement. Americans were spending more as a response to the past economies of the Great Depression and the rationing that was imposed during the war.[26] One obvious sign of America's increasing prosperity was the appearance of the very first credit card—the Diner's Club Card—created in 1950.[27]

Nevertheless, in spite of the rosy picture that America was presenting, not everyone was included in this prosperity. Approximately a quarter of American citizens

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[23] Ibid., 41.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Fred I. Greenstein, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 59.
[26] Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: Volume 2, The President* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 618.
[27] Douglas J. Goodman and Mirelle Cohen, *Consumer Culture: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO e-book, 2003), 156.

languished in poverty, then defined as "living on an annual income of $3000 for a family of four."[28] Included in that group, in addition to urban blacks, were Appalachian whites.

Endemic in the Appalachian states was the amount of bituminous coal that lay underground, a fuel that could be extracted and dispersed across the eastern half of the United States by those with strong backs, willing spirits, and the need to provide for growing families. Shortly after the turn of the century, on August 25, 1911, the first trainload of coal was removed from Harlan County and transported via a Louisville & Nashville locomotive to western Kentucky.[29] The area of Terry's Fork, the site of the coal tipple, had existed primarily as a farming center, even though the income generated from these small agricultural patches was not much more than at a subsistence level for the families depending on products to fill their tables, maintain a roof over their heads, and provide the most basic necessities for their children.[30] The "new" immigrants from Europe who had been a part of coal-mining in their home countries were knowledgeable and skilled, but they were also naïve as entrepreneurs moved into the area and invested in this new-found source of energy, an energy born of necessity as the country grew and expanded its industrial bases. Even as the tonnage of coal extracted from the mines increased, the rates of injury and death among coal miners as they worked the mines also increased. Accidents were not the only causes of death, either. The coal dust that miners breathed as they hewed coal out of underground seams became a silent killer as it built up in the miners' lungs, giving rise to the ubiquitous "black lung." Nevertheless, as long as crawling underground each day, using picks and axes to release millions of tons of coal from areas that billions of years ago were once the roaming grounds for animal and plant life, as long as that possibility brought food to their children and culminated in a way of life that was satisfying, the need to stay put outweighed any concern for the future. Additionally, if the coal miner was discouraged and disillusioned by his daily work, his reliance on religion grew as a promise of better things to come.

Coal mining was certainly not the only source of income for east Kentuckians. The mountainous region was not suited to large-scale farming, but diligent workers could

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[28] Piers Brendon, *Ike: His Life and Times* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 375.

[29] Bill Estep, "100 Years of Coal Mining in Harlan County," Lexington, (Ky.) *Herald-Leader*, August 21, 2011.

[30] Ibid.

eke out a living by planting indigenous crops such as corn and squash, and some fruits and vegetables, especially apples, which supplied an abundance beyond the farm family's needs. Tobacco ensured a reliable cash crop, and in some areas, livestock such as cattle and sheep could graze in the highlands. Of greater importance, however, was the supply of timber, which in the early days of the settlement seemed to be inexhaustible. Bringing the lumber to the mills or to points of purchase was challenging. Mule teams and rivers provided access to the timbered areas, a practice followed by newer equipment such as the steam-powered loader and the steam-powered skidder, which improved the process of transporting lumber to lumberyards.[31] Like the coal industry, logging experienced a decline in the 1950s, when more trees were being cut in the Pacific Northwest than in the Appalachians, but a resurgence in demand began in the 1980s and remains a viable industry in the mountain counties. Care has to be taken, also, not to destroy more trees than can be replaced as older sites are cleared out. While Appalachians may have revered the trees as part of God's creation, the money they provided supported another part of God's creation: children.

As an economic environ, the coal fields and timbered lands of eastern Kentucky and parts of western West Virginia are especially critical in examining the role of religion as it was affected by the economy in the migrations, both out, in, and post-death. Depending on the availability of these resources as they either began to dwindle or to be more or less difficult and dangerous to access, the shifting roles of employment and independence forced more and more individuals and their families to leave the area and move outward in search of sustainable livelihoods. The early efforts of the United States government as well as state and local governments to alleviate the poverty that rose from loss of employment were not able to keep pace with the needs of Appalachians, nor were they always welcomed into the communities that were suffering as local citizens held on to their way of life. Beginning with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's initiatives in supporting enterprises such as the construction of dams to provide electricity, federal and state governments intervened where and when possible to "diversify the region's

[31]Ronald L. Lewis, *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 8.

economy and . . .to create better health care and educational opportunities" for the residents of these states.[32] Not only was coal mining an unreliable source of income, but after World War II, those who managed and produced the raw coal found that they were also powerless as administrators in Franklin Roosevelt's tenure and spokespeople in John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers controlled the coalfields.[33] In those glory days of coal as a necessary product for the war effort, draft boards were asked to defer accepting coal miners who signed up for the draft because their work was more necessary at home.[34] Both anthracite and bituminous coal was being used in America's support of the conflict abroad; anthracite output rose to 59,961,000 tons and bituminous production rose to a height not seen since 1918.[35] After a series of strikes engineered by the United Auto Workers, 1944 became one of the most coal-productive years ever, with 620 million tons of bituminous and 66 million tons of anthracite being extracted in one year.[36]

Coal miners, however, were not the only ones whose lives were affected by the extraction of coal. Farmers in Appalachia were selling their souls to the coal companies, and the changes in their way of life often reflected different attitudes toward what they deemed to be important. Issues that had previously been settled with words now were being settled through violence. In Harlan County, the homicide rate in the 1920s was the highest in the nation,[37] and the divorce rate rose 80 percent in the decade between 1922 and 1932.[38] Family life suffered because of the type of work and hours underground in which miners were engaged. The back-breaking, lung-filling, youth-robbing impact of six days a week spent in grubbing coal instead of the less remunerative, but healthier life style of planting and harvesting resulted in fathers becoming isolated from their children.[39] Where children previously could be engaged with their fathers as the men broke soil – even hardened soil – and planted crops, weeded, watered, and reaped, they

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[32] Cratis D.Williams, "The Southern Initiatives Echoed the Social Activism of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal," *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 310-12.

[33] Sydney Hale, ed., "100 Years With Coal Age: The Age of Mechanization," *Coal Age*, (September 14, 2012), 2. http://www.coalagecom/features/2284-199-years-with-coal-age.html.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] John W. Hevener, "Which Side Are You On?: The Harlan County Coal Miners," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 61, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 25-26.

[38] Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 233.

[39] Estep, 3.

now saw men coming out of the mines, blackened with coal dust, and too tired to do more than wash off the grime, eat a cold supper, and go to bed, only to repeat the scenario the following day. Even if the miners' wages brought more material goods to their families, the impact of their work began to erode the strength of family life. Only the promise of God's strength as they practiced their religious beliefs kept many families intact.

By the late 1920s, the strain of change had been observed in those places where the most coal was being dug. Labor problems were resulting in increasing bitterness among those who had once been friends and neighbors. Coal companies were paying sheriff's deputies to help intimidate miners and to resist union efforts. Coal operators exerted so much power that they could evict disaffected miners from the company houses, could blacklist them in order to prevent hiring by other companies, and could withhold supplies at the company stores.[40] Black Friday in October, 1929 was the final blow as the Great Depression took its toll on the coal-mining industry. The annual wage of an average Harlan County coal miner dropped from $1,235.00 to $749.00. This was an entire year's loss of income that was not spent on food for children nor any of the necessities such as a safe, dry home and adequate clothing, especially through the winter months that followed. Had not the Quakers introduced a feeding program in 1931, more children would have died from malnutrition.[41] As one female resident observed, "We live on beans and bread. We don't get no dinner."[42]

Additionally, even with increased oversight in safety measures, the rate of injuries from accidents rose in 1942. Because many of the more experienced miners were fighting in the war, younger miners with less experience were becoming increasingly subject to accidents as they were pushed to work harder and faster to provide coal for many of the nation's factories.[43] The race to extract coal hit its peak in 1947 when, on one day—September 25th—at Consol of Kentucky Mine #207, 1,466 tons of coal were

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[40] Ibid., 5.
[41] Hevener, 25-26.
[42] "Harlan Miners Speak." *Committee on Labor Violence* , National Miners Union (1932), as quoted in Estep, 5.
[43] Hale, 4.

brought out in one eight-hour shift.[44] The following year, 1948, in West Virginia, Kentucky's record was broken when Consol of West Virginia's Mine No. 63, Monongah, extracted 1,536 tons during one eight-hour shift. Not only did these races to extract more and more coal result in more injuries to miners, but they also led to a parallel problem: over-capacity. With a surplus of coal available, the cost per ton was reduced, and, inevitably, some miners lost their jobs.

Even the growing economy that followed the end of World War II did not translate into better working and living conditions for many eastern Kentucky coal miners and their families. Improved technology and marketing techniques reduced the number of jobs available to those who had based their livelihoods on coal mining. Railroads switched from coal-powered engines to oil and natural gas, and the demand for coal was lower in the 1960s than it had been at the beginning of the century.[45] In Harlan County alone, the production of coal was lower in 1960 than it had been in the previous fifty years, numbering only 1.3 million tons. In the twenty-year span between 1950 and 1970, almost half of Harlan County's residents out-migrated to other regions as employment dropped from 13,619 to 2,433 workers.[46] Only an oil embargo in the 1970s and 1980s brought back some of the demand for coal, resulting in a small rise in employment to 4,419 in 1981.

Added to the problem of the loss of a coal-based economy was the fact that many east Kentuckians had gone to work at very young ages, which meant that they had only lower- elementary educations. Thus, the miner was frustrated at every level. His work as a coal miner was no longer reliable; land that he might have once owned was now owned by coal companies; and, perhaps most significant, the miner was ill suited to many other lines of work, certainly jobs that would support a family. Even today, in Floyd County, another area where coal mining had been the prevailing industry, of the 42,000 residents, almost a third of the residents [30 percent plus] live below the poverty line, while fewer than two-thirds [61percent] of the adults have a high school diploma, and only 9 percent

[44] Ibid., 5.
[45] Estep, 6.
[46] Ibid.

are college graduates.[47] To remain in the area was to condemn the miners and their families to lives of never-ending want.

Two, more detailed, studies of the economy of eastern Kentucky counties provide insight into the problems facing Appalachian dwellers: an examination of the impact of a better road on the livelihood of workers by the Department of Transportation in Kentucky in 1976, and a review of "regional economic distress" in the years 1960-2000 by the newly created Appalachian Regional Commission [ARC] published in 2005. Both studies identified the eastern counties that are part of the Appalachian mountain chain as suffering from the cumulative effects of years of neglect, poor leadership, and a lack of federal input in areas where financial help would have made a difference. ARC designated a distressed area as having an increase in a three-year average unemployment rate, a lower market income per capita, and a higher poverty rate.[48] Neither of these studies points to the importance of religion in helping mountaineers deal with their lack of prospects, but it did not take a great imagination to understand that many people turned to their faith when they could find no other recourse for their problems.

Billings offers two explanations for poverty in Appalachia: the region's traditional culture, which restricted the residents' ability to deal with the modern world, and the region's economy itself, indebted as it has been to the coal industry. This assigns the mountaineers' situation as the prime reason for the existence of poverty. Highlighted, however, in Billings' survey of the sources of poverty in Appalachia were Harry M. Caudill's narratives that pointed out the influence of outsiders' exploitation of not only the natural resources of the area, but of all of the supporting mechanisms of that industry:[49] the" railroads, fuel, banking—including taxation, and strip mining—industrial health and safety."[50]

Jas. H. Havens, Director of Research for the Commonwealth of Kentucky, stated in his 1976 report to the Department of Transportation that, "while income levels and

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[47] Dwight B. Billings and Kathleen M. Blee, *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 256.

[48] Lawrence E. Wood, "Trends in National and Regional Economic Distress: 1960-2000," *Appalachian Regional Commission* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 4.

[49] Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), 134.

[50] Richard A. Diehl, "Appalachia Energy Elite: A Wing of Imperialism?" *People's Appalachia* 1 (March 1970): 2-3.

business sales have enjoyed substantial increases, [the] overall quality of life is still poor." He cited "educational facilities [as] inadequate; economic diversification in business types [as] limited; [and] coal is still the main stimulant for income and employment."[51] Havens acknowledged that a slight increase in income had occurred because of the reemergence of coal; yet, a few years later, coal again suffered a setback as Environmental Protection Agency regulations hampered many outdated means of extracting the mineral. In exploring the impact of poor, or non-existent, roads, research analyst Joseph T. Farmer reviewed the socioeconomic impact of the Mountain Parkway and KY 15, roads that were completed in the late 1970s. If, as Farmer stated, a better road into the mountains could result in "higher incomes, greater employment, industrial progress, cultural enhancements, and population stabilization [a reversal of out-migration], then the Mountain Parkway would more than pay for itself."[52] Yet, unspoken in Farmer's estimation, was the possibility of those same highways providing an easy way out of Appalachia into areas that promised better economic equity.

Farmer, however, noted the existence of two of the Appalachian region's problems: poverty and out-migration. He recognized out-migration as taking away the youngest and brightest of the region's population, leaving the middle-aged and elderly segments of the area to continue their hard-scrabble lives without sufficient leadership by younger people.[53] His most telling statement was bleak: "[I]f outmigration continues to be a way of life in Appalachia, a modern highway may merely provide an exit through which outmigration can occur . . . . [T]he Parkway and KY 15 can furnish an outlet for socioeconomic problems peculiar to Appalachia."[54] Out-migration, it seems, solved the problem of massive unemployment, but it did not solve the economic problems of eastern Kentucky. Out-migration also led to the removal of many families from the support of their kinfolk and their religious roots. To bring back those who had died or were near death was one way of reconnecting to an area that had failed them economically.

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[51] Jas. Havens, Cover Letter to G. F. Kemper re: Research Report no.447: "The Socioeconomic Impact of the Mountain Parkway and KY 15:" KYP-73-42; HPR-PL-1 (11), Part III-B, (Lexington, KY., Commonwealth of Kentucky, May 10, 1976) Form DOT F 1700.7: 8-72

[52] Joseph T. Farmer, Introduction: *The Socioeconomic Impact of the Mountain Parkway and KY 15*: KYP-73-42, HPR-PL1(11), Part III-B (May 1976): 1.

[53] Ibid., 5.

[54] Ibid.

A report prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission, written primarily by Lawrence E. Wood, assistant professor in the College of Communication at Ohio University and published in 2005, provided a similar, but broader view of the problems of Appalachia and the efforts of the federal government in addressing those problems. This report pointed to the factors that were associated with "persistent economic distress," as well as factors associated with counties graduating out of economic distress status over time. According to Wood, some have "remained mired in distress throughout much of the past forty years."[55] Over the next several decades, Congress developed agencies designed to identify and correct the root causes of poverty in the Appalachian counties. The Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA), the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), the Economic Development Administration (EDA), and the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) all were charged with the mission of "specifically identifying the socioeconomic problems of Appalachia and develop[ing] a frame-work for addressing such problems."[56] In 1965, the Public Works and Economic Development Act (PWEDA) was passed.[57] In fact, these new programs were merely extensions of the New Deal programs that President Roosevelt had inaugurated in the 1930s with a much better result. As Wood sadly phrased it: "the momentum and idealism . . . would be relatively short-lived."[58]

The rate of improvement throughout the United States as the aforementioned programs were implemented was, at the very least, uneven. The Great Lakes, Mid-Atlantic, and New England regions maintained a stronger economy into the mid-twentieth century, while the West, the Rocky Mountain Region, and the states bordering Mexico worsened.[59] Not surprisingly, the "rate of distress in Appalachia . . . was more than twice that of the non-Appalachian U. S. in 2000," and "the rate of distress in Central Appalachia alone is currently approximately four times the national rate."[60] Low levels

[55] Wood, 4.
[56] Ibid., 5.
[57] Ibid., 6.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., 23.
[60] Ibid.

of employment in mining, manufacturing, and professional services were at bottom the root causes of poverty in eastern Kentucky and western West Virginia.[61]

The examination of the root causes of poverty in eastern Kentucky must be viewed in the historical context of a group of people who practiced and exemplified self-reliance. The geographical obstacles presented by life in a mountainous region could be overcome to a great extent in the early centuries of this country by man's reliance on himself and his neighbors to create an environment that met most, if not all, of the requirements for a satisfying existence. Not until the rest of the nation experienced a growth in what was to be seen as "a better life," a life now reliant on enhanced communication, more expedient travel, and the acquisition of items that were identified as necessary in an advanced civilization—items such as refrigerators, telephones, and automobiles—not until life was measured according to a different criterion, did many of the "distressed" areas of the United States become focal points that needed to be addressed and brought into a sort of compliance with the rest of the country. As a rural as well as mountainous area, much of Appalachia was not influenced by metropolitan centers such as existed in other parts of the various states. As the nation grew in influence, particularly after World Wars I and II, parts of the country were now seen as lagging in progress, and outsiders often were the ones who determined that the life of Appalachians was not good enough or at least not on par with life in the more industrial north and mid-continental parts of the United States. As Wood wrote in the report presented to the ARC in 2000, "many Americans are not wanting for decent jobs, large homes, and luxury commodities. Other Americans, however, were clearly not enjoying such prosperity."[62]

Farmers who had owned land that they tilled became aware of the potential profit to be gained by selling the acreages to coal companies, and they were eager to join what they saw as money-making enterprises. Once the railroads laid tracks into coal-mining regions, the interest in grubbing with hoes to plant corn and a few vegetables was supplanted by the urge to receive monthly checks from coal companies without lifting a finger. Few who owned small tracts of land in the mountains could have seen, or would

[61] Ibid., 44.
[62] Ibid., 78.

have been able to see, the ultimate damage to the land once the country was forced to buy less coal and move to other sources of energy. In the first decade of the twentieth century, one such coal company, Kentenia Corporation, a Northeast company, bought land in Harlan and Bell counties that totaled over a hundred square miles.[63] A protracted legal battle over the rightful heirs of the property was witnessed on site by one future politician, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.[64] Those who had once been independent farmers living on small patches of land that they owned became dependent on coal companies.

Ronald D. Eller, then a professor of Appalachian history at the University of Kentucky, wrote that "a miner had no voice in community affairs or working conditions, and he was dependent upon the benevolence of the employer to maintain his rate of pay."[65] Now, many miners, often migrants from bordering states living in coal camps owned by the coal companies, were buying their food from businesses owned by coal companies and working for a paycheck rather than a crop they had planted and nurtured themselves.[66] Yet, the "food" the mountain families craved was not only for their bodies, but, also, they needed sustenance for their souls. Religion for many mountaineers was not the routine of Sunday-morning church or Wednesday-evening prayer meetings; it was not ritual or liturgy. Faith for many of those seen as the poorest was an everyday, every hour sort of support from which they were heartened enough to take the little life offered and work to eke out a living for their families. When a preacher was available, the tension and exhaustion from hours in an underground mine dropped away, and they came to a meeting place, eager to hear the word of God. Theirs was a thirst that water did not quench.

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[63] James S. Greene III, "Kentenia Corporation," *Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 488.

[64] Robert Temple*, Edge Effects: The Border-Name Places* (iuniverse 2008), 160.

[65] Eller, 233.

[66] Estep, 5.

Chapter 3

Culture: To Be Ethnic is Simply to Remember Who You Are

Historians who try to write comprehensively about the residents of Appalachia, past and present, inevitably run into the issue of Appalachian culture: what it is; how it is identified; even whether or not it exists as separate from other "cultures" in America. The simplest view of Appalachia is that it is no more a separate "culture" than are black, Hispanic, Asian, gay, Republican, or any other subset that others look at askance. Appalachians comprise a variant of American culture.[67] The prevailing view is that a culture, whether it actually exists or not, can be the purveyor of some element that others see negatively; all of the ills of a society can be blamed on those who are "other," when, in reality, everyone is an "other." The *culture question* has been debated for decades, and, while there are those who see Appalachian culture as problematic, something that needs fixing, there are others who question the existence of Appalachian culture at all, and, even if such a thing exists, does it really need fixing? Many believe that some sociologists have confused *culture* with *behavior*, an error that is based on the norms of a "middle class orientation," particularly a middle class of white, prosperous, mostly Protestant people.

Dwight Billings argued that, although Appalachia itself is blessed with a natural wealth of resources, a higher degree of poverty can yet be found among the mountain peoples.[68] Poverty, Billings explains, can be understood as a phenomenon of cultural, social, and psychological concepts.[69] The sociologist argues further that a difference exists between "cultural and situational theories of poverty" in which the ways the poor behave as a situational response to their environment is different than cultural responses which include the ways that individuals operate at "variance with the rest of society."[70] Rupert Vance, who visited the Appalachians in 1965, saw the isolation imposed by the mountains as fostering a "mental and cultural isolation" of the people, which created an

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[67] John Alexander Williams, 9.

[68] Dwight Billings, "Culture and Poverty in Appalachia: A Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Analysis," *Social Forces* 53, no.2, Special Issue (December 1974): 315.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

attitude that resisted outside influence on their way of life.[71] Jack Weller, a Presbyterian minister who published his observations in 1965, agreed with Vance to the extent that he saw Appalachians as "people [who] simply do not want to change."[72] According to Weller, Appalachian culture had "imprisoned" its people, and their responses were distinguishable in observable ways: "impulsive, permissive, and indulgent parenting; obligatory closeness, and overly strong ties of emotional dependence."[73]

Kathryn Russ, a member of the Urban Appalachian Council, can be condescending toward Appalachians as she explains the best way, in her opinion, of relating to mountaineers and their interactions with mental health counselors. The title of her paper, "Working with Clients of Appalachian Culture," published in 2010, is the first clue as to her frame of reference. She depicts a successful provider/client session as one in which the therapist must tread carefully in conversation with someone from Appalachia – no distinction is made as to any specific area of Appalachia. Russ specifies the therapist's approach as "first engag[ing] in small talk . . . us[ing] more in the way of self-disclosure." The therapist must "show . . . respect and demonstrate . . . egalitarianism . . . showing that you consider the client your equal."[74] Russ further explains that "Appalachians are more collectivist than individualistic . . ., person-oriented rather than task-oriented . . ., dependent on community and kinship ties . . , [and] avoid confrontation that might jeopardize their standing in the group . . . ."[75] Russ ends her paper with the questionable statement that "in mainstream America, a lack of self-actualization is regarded as mental illness. In Appalachian culture, a lack of connection to the group or community is more likely to be regarded as a mental disorder."[76] In other words, Appalachians are distinguished by their inability to stand on their own two feet, as opposed to the rest of America, which is staunchly independent.

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[71] Rupert Vance, introduction to Jack Weller, *Yesterday's People* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), viii.

[72] Ibid., 7.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Kathryn Russ, "Counseling Appalachian Clients," *Research Up-To-Date: The Newsletter of the Urban Appalachian Council Research Committee* 4, no.1 (2008):3. Ed. Roberta M. Campbell. *http://www.counseling.org*.

[75] Ibid., 5.

[76] Ibid., 6.

Michael Maloney, in a paper delivered to the National Conference on Social Welfare, seemed to agree with Vance and Weller in his comment that "[Appalachians'] cultural orientation required for success in the city . . . joined the urban underclass or the marginal labor force."[77] Maloney cited the "conflict and stress for such families . . . exploitation by inner city slumlords, pawn shops, finance companies, and furniture stores . . .[even] large impersonal schools and social welfare agencies."[78] The author pointed to the same source of the lack of social change that linguists Hazen and Hamilton mentioned as the reason that Appalachians tended to maintain their particular language patterns: "established ethnic enclaves in which they maintain[ed] their accustomed life ways."[79] In case anyone should misinterpret his meaning, Maloney is explicit: "the Appalachian belongs to a distinct subculture with its own unique value system and [a] life style [that] has been well documented."[80] If one read only these sources, the implication gleaned would be that Appalachians had such an inbred "culture" that it was unlikely they would ever change, no matter how the rest of society evolved.

By 2011, however, Maloney's thinking had evolved, and in a subsequent paper written for the same group, the Urban Appalachian Council, he and co-author Phillip J. Obermiller expressed just the opposite view as together they stated that "training received by social workers, law enforcement personnel and educators was based on supposed Appalachian cultural traits such as 'personalism, familism, and fatalism,' having 'school phobia,' and belonging to an analgesic subculture."[81] In a little more than a quarter-century, the pendulum swung from the pejorative view of Appalachian culture to one in which historians question the presence of a separate culture altogether. Obermiller and Maloney quote two members of the UAC Research Committee on the misuse of the term 'culture': "generalizing it [culture] to a wider area or larger population within the region remains problematic . . . . It is difficult to conceive of an accurate statement of 'culture' for some 25 million people living in 13 states."[82] Applying cultural phenomena to such a

[77] Michael E. Maloney, "The Implications of Appalachian Culture for Social Welfare Practice," *Urban Appalachian Council Working Paper no. 2* (1974): 2.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Phillip J. Obermiller and Michael E. Maloney, "The Uses and Misuses of Appalachian Culture," *Urban Appalachian Council Working Paper No. 20* (May 2011): 2.
[82] Ibid., 3.

wide-ranging geographical area is stretching thin any academic pronouncement of how "Appalachian culture" is defined.

Obermiller and Maloney identify three problems with describing Appalachians as exhibiting cultural characteristics. First is the practice of seeing 'Appalachian culture' in a fixed and unchanging way.[83] Culture is a broad term that cannot and should not be reduced to a few obvious indicators. "Cultural content," these authors argue, is not a reality that is underwritten with any observable evidence. The characteristics, Obermiller and Maloney insist, are specific to precise areas and are not necessarily replicated throughout any larger region. The third, and perhaps most damning, cultural artifact is that it is seen only as positive, which also asserts that some behavior is seen only as a negative, perhaps the adherence to family that is so often noted by anyone writing about Appalachia and its residents. No single characteristic of Appalachian "culture" is either solely positive or negative, any more than that can be said of any section of humanity anywhere. The authors quote anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod, who stated that "[R]ather than references to 'Appalachian culture,' better to appreciate the multiple and various survival strategies practiced by people in their home places."[84] What Maloney does accept is that common culture exists insofar as a specific group of people engage in a common experience. Even that definition is problematic as those across the northern half of the world [and in some cases even below the Equator] experience cold weather during specific periods of their calendar year, and, depending on weather-resistant resources available, the cold winter months may be experienced as a relief from the excessive heat of summer with its attendant dry or arid areas while others living within the same zip code or on the other side of the earth see winter as something to be survived, a period of want that can lead to death. Writers who question the applicability of "culture" to Appalachia see the area as a place, not a label.

Even if scholars agreed on the existence of a "culture of Appalachia," with its definition, boundaries, and manifestations, different patterns of behavior arose in response to situations and circumstances. Appalachia following World War II was a

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[83] Ibid., 4.

[84] Lila Abu-Lughod, "Writing Against Culture," 137-162, in Richard G Fox, ed., *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1991), as quoted in Obermiller and Maloney, 6.

quite different place than Appalachia following World War I. Not only were the World Wars responsible for the differences in lifestyles, but natural evolution triggered especially by World War II impacted geographical Appalachia perhaps more significantly than in some other parts of the country. Developments in technology, transportation, and resources created different environments in many parts of the world, possibly none so much as among those characterized by their lives in mountains. Other parts of the country enjoyed improved roads, train and plane travel, the extension of electric power to more homes, and the discovery of additional sources of power to ease the life of the common laborer. Although these improvements entered the mountain villages, towns, and farms eventually, in many cases their advent was slower in coming as well as less welcomed than in the flat lands of the United States. As noted earlier, possibly the change in coal as both a resource and as an employer resulted in a greater immediate impact than almost any other factor. Not only were some mines providing less and less coal to extract, but with the rise of other, cleaner fuels, the need for coal lessened considerably. As coal mines closed, heads of households were forced to find other means of employment, and, in many cases, those opportunities were to be found in the industrial cities of the nation's north. Although large numbers of Appalachians had moved north after World War I to the factories that had begun building much of the wealth of the country, even more followed at the end of World War II as layoffs in the coal mining industry emptied out whole towns, hamlets, and countrysides into the factories of Cincinnati, Dayton, Chicago, and Detroit. One historian wrote "half-jokingly . . . [that] Champion Paper transplanted half of Wolfe County, Kentucky to work in its Hamilton plant."[85]

Perhaps the most honest assessment of who were the Appalachians came from James Branscome, who stated: "Rural people from central and southern Appalachia are a culturally distinct group who do not share the life goals and cultural aspirations of the dominant middle class in America or, for that matter, those of other cultural minorities."[86] A different viewpoint of the culture question is that of David Walls, who believed that

[85]Michael Maloney, "Who Are the Urban Appalachians?" *Appalachian Council Research Newsletter* 4, no. 1 (2010): 3.

[86] James Branscome, "Appalachian Migrants and the Need for a National Policy," in *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present* eds. Bruce Ergod and Bruce Kuhre (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1971), 73.

"class is a more relevant analytic concept than culture."[87] In view of the diaspora to come, the ability to identify oneself and one's family group became pivotal as different groups encountered different sub-cultures and were forced to assimilate at least to a minimal degree if they were to thrive in their new environment. In this instance, culture was less a variable than was ethnicity. Opportunities for employment and for community services were more likely to be available depending on an individual's ethnicity than on his culture, which could be viewed as his likely response to a specific set of circumstances. Ethnic identification hinged on "the sense of rootedness, of belonging, a confidence in 'knowing your own story . . . ."[88] Obermiller cited what may be the most comprehensive definition as well as the easiest to understand: "to be ethnic is simply to remember who you are."[89] As families of Appalachia moved into northern industrial areas, advocacy resources depended a great deal on the perceived ethnicity of the mountaineer, and mountain people themselves were as aware as anyone of the ways in which advocacy could be detrimental rather than helpful.

[87] David Walls, "Appalachian Problems are National Problems," *Appalachian Journal* 4 (Autumn 1976): 42.

[88] Phillip Obermiller, "Appalachians as an Urban Ethnic Group: Romanticism, Renaissance, or Revolution?" *Appalachian Journal* 5, no. 1 (Autumn 1977): 148.

[89] Geno Baroni, "Black, Brown and Broke: Can the Catholic Church Help in the City?" *The New Catholic World* 219 (May-June 1976): 101-5.

Chapter 4

The Diaspora: 'Kinfolk' In Northern Cities

A diaspora is broadly defined as any group of people moving or migrating outside their homeland, usually in response to an unwanted pressure from another area. Often, a diaspora has occurred in times of war, such as when a displacement of Jews was forced by Nazis to leave their homelands for safer places. In the case of the Appalachian migrants, the diaspora was effected, not by a hostile enemy, but rather by the realization that the work that had provided a living for families was no longer available, or at least the possibilities of employment were dwindling. This diaspora of Appalachian families moved north and west, into northern industrial cities such as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit, or west into the metropolitan cities of Lexington and Louisville, where more opportunities for employment existed.

The period of time between 1930 and 1970 was in one writer's estimation the "golden age of migration research," a time when "public funds and public interest fueled studies by sociologists, demographers, economists . . . [and] journalists, novelists, and mass entertainment industries" that brought into focus a major shift in population as the economic problems in the country contributed to the movement of large groups of Americans, who moved from the places of their births to areas that might provide an increased income and a better style of life. Two writers, Vance Packard, author of *A Nation of Strangers* (1972), and George Pierson, an historian and author of *The Moving American* (1973), presented the opposite ends of the spectrum regarding why migrants were leaving their homelands and moving to urban centers.[90] Packard, a journalist, considered migration to be worrisome, something "Americans needed to watch . . . . "[91] For Packard, this mobility would lead to disorientation and social fragmentation.[92] Pierson, on the other hand, argued that "it [mobility] was part of 'the American

[90] James N. Gregory, "Paying Attention to Moving Americans: Migration Knowledge in the Age of Internal Migration, 1930s-1970s" in *Migrants and Migration in Modern North America,* ed. by Dirk Hoerder and Nora Faires (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 277.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Vance Packard, *A Nation of Strangers* (New York: David McKay Company, 1972), 6.

character.'"[93] Pioneers and explorers had built this country, and migrants' "spirit of yearning, ambition, and self-reinvention . . . boded well for the nation's future."[94]

James N. Gregory identified two forms of internal migration: "migration from farms to cities; and tramping, or casual labor migration."[95] He pointed out that migration has been occurring for hundreds, possibly thousands, of years as internal circumstances, most often economic, provided the impetus for large groups of people to move from their place of birth to a more welcoming area. These migrations were attended by "dislocating experiences," circumstances that drew on the inner strength of the migrants, especially their reliance on the religious tenets taught in childhood. In the early years of this country, the word "migrant" was followed by "pioneer" and "settler."[96] Even when the word "migrant" was used in titles of books, the reference was less likely to refer to African Americans moving to the North from the South. They were more likely referring to the English as they migrated to North America or to those who came after and moved West.[97] At least eleven million southerners migrated to the North and West between World War I and 1970.[98] The difference between the African American migration and the mountain white migrations was that African Americans left the South for both political and economic reasons, while the white, particularly mountain, migrants moved for economic opportunity but not without a sense that they would return to their mountains once they had acquired enough capital to live comfortably at or near their birthplaces.[99]

Gregory equated historians' treatment of migration with the thesis proposed by Frederick Jackson Turner, the frontier that Turner saw as a "zone of continuous migration and community building."[100] The settlement of migrants implied a commitment to their new locations.[101] Assisting in the transmission of the idea of migrants' relocations as

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[93] George W. Pierson, *The Moving American* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 38.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Gregory, 281.
[96] Ibid., 283.
[97] Ibid.
[98] James N. Gregory, "The Southern Diaspora and the Urban Dispossessed: Demonstrating the Census Public Use Microdata Samples," *Journal of American History* 82 (June 1995): 111.
[99] Ibid., 112.
[100] Ibid., 284.
[101] Ibid., *Paying Attention to Moving Americans*, 282-85.

fodder for sociologists were journalists who often told the intimate stories of how migrants' lives were impacted by their move, and these news stories became the research projects of both sociologists and economists. Ultimately, public debates and media crusades . . "including campaigns against racism, bigotry, and the 'authoritarian personality,' shone a spotlight on the 'uprooted,' 'social disorganization,' and 'marginal man'" that brought the issue of migration to the American conscience.[102]

An examination of the ways in which Appalachian migrants dealt with unfamiliar traditions and life styles is useful in understanding the reasons for the eventual post-death migration from those northern cities back to the mountains for burial. Any study of migrants' confrontation of new and different environments must acknowledge the negative stereotypes that were assigned to the migrants and perpetuated in earlier studies, stereotypes that often contributed to federal and state policies in providing social services to specific groups. An unintended consequence of the application of federal and state funds as well as outreach from faith-based organizations was the attitude of condescension that frequently attended the outsider's largesse. One such example of that kind of thinking was included in a 1968 report to the President's Commission on Rural Poverty:

> . . .Southern-born white and Negro migrants are ill-prepared for life in metropolitan North. In particular, they are likely to be poorly educated, have high levels of unemployment and low incomes, and place disproportionate demands on welfare and public services. [103]

In fact, migrants who moved from rural mountainous areas to industrial urban areas did improve their economic outlooks but did not place an undue burden on welfare and public service as the previous authors suggested. Those migrants who experienced improved incomes from living in urban areas remained in the cities; whereas, those who found the obstacles too great and who did not realize better paychecks, those who were

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[102] Ibid., 287-288.

[103] John F. Kain and Joseph J.Persky, "The North's Stake in Southern Rural Poverty," in *Rural Poverty in the United States*. Report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 294.

deemed marginal, were more likely to return home.[104] The idea that poor Appalachian migrants came at a cost of greater expenses to social services and welfare has been challenged by more recent scholarship. Not only did their levels of income improve, but their opportunities for education improved also.

Other research supports that reported by Kain and Persky. Migrants from eastern Kentucky to metropolitan centers such as Lexington and Louisville did not pose a "net social cost in terms of public services."[105] Taxes paid on a multitude of items and on earned income reimbursed the cities for the additional costs of education. Additionally, those migrants with marginal skills and family connections were more apt to return to their mountain regions at earlier times and did not contribute to a drain on public finance in the target cities accepting migrants.[106]

Once mountaineers from the eastern Kentucky counties migrated to urban areas, they preferred to live in enclaves that were already predominantly from the same state or zip code. These areas were more likely to have a concentration of poorer and disadvantaged family and friends; even with this economic status, however, the newest migrants often chose to live close to kin and those with whom they felt the most comfortable. The perception of the more established migrants by the newest group was that the previous groups enjoyed a privileged status. [107]

A dependence on their family networks and the social communication they provided was a primary resource for the most recent migrants.[108] This dependence served as a buffer between the mountaineer used to living much of the time in the comparative silence of a rural existence and the constant stimulation of an industrial city, particularly when other economic resources were limited.[109] For those who remained in the urban

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[104] Brady J. Deaton and Kurt Anschel, "Migration and Return Migration: A New Look at the Eastern Kentucky Migration Stream," *Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics* 6 (1974): 22.

[105] Larry C. Morgan and Frank A. Bordeaux, Jr., "Urban Public Service Costs and Benefits of Rural-to-Urban Migration," *Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics* 6 (1974): 92-93.

[106] Deaton and Anschel, 22.

[107] John D. Photiadis, *Social and Sociopsychological Characteristics of West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio: Summary and Conclusions of a Comparative Social Study* (Morgantown, WV: Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1970): 2-20.

[108] Ibid., 258-59.

[109] Gene B. Petersen and Laure M. Sharpe*, Southern Migrants to Cleveland: Work and Social Adjustment of Recent In-migrants Living in Low-income Neighborhoods* (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., July 1969), 224-27.

areas, they could reinforce their lifelong habits and beliefs by frequent trips home or, in some cases, by establishing or retaining a home base in their birthplace counties, a pretense of sorts that they would return home permanently at some unspecific time in the future. Their mountain pride, combined with an inbred suspicion of any governmental assistance, instilled in the migrants the comforting thought that this relocation to an urban area was merely temporary, a filled-in space until they could get on their feet and earn a living in the mountains. Whenever they returned to their families in the mountain counties, it was as a means of maintaining communication with their loved ones and of reinforcing for themselves and their families the commitment to living in the mountains, even though they may have lived out the rest of their lives in the urban environment in which they found themselves. Unfortunately, the promise to themselves and their families of an imminent return to the mountains was delayed month after month and year after year until the difference in the lives they lived as factory workers and urban dwellers or lives of either a pastoral existence or in the no longer remunerative coal mining business became too great and required too much stamina to become mountaineers again. Even though white migrants may have fared better economically in their urban settings, they still may have faced a sort of segregation that was endemic in the South. Better jobs, an improved income, even newer suburban homes did not always compensate for their feeling of dispossession and hardship that could "destroy body, mind, and soul."[110]

In 1974, when Gary Fowler prepared his working paper for the Urban Appalachian Council, there was an expectation that the rate of migration from Appalachia would decline. A decline in fertility and a reduction in income and benefits for migrants in the north and west was believed to result in more and more return migration to the hills of Kentucky and West Virginia.[111] At the time, policies were being considered, and in some cases implemented, that favored improved social welfare, manpower training, and a resettlement of skilled migrant workers into intermediate-sized cities. These policies were intended to relieve the so-called economic burden placed on larger metropolises while also aiding those smaller cities that needed a greater population

[110] Jacqueline Jones, "Problems in the Community," *Mountain Life and Work* 8 (August 1976): 6.
[111] Gary Fowler, "Up Here and Down Home: Appalachians in Cities," *Cincinnati*: *Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare* (May 21, 1974): 5-6.

to help grow industries and businesses. According to Fowler, the prevailing belief of policy makers in the early 1970s was that "People who remain in the region, and do not have jobs, are problems of social welfare."[112] Implicit in these policies was the belief that migrants would be happiest if they moved to "migration centers," areas that the migrants preferred and where incomes were adequate for their imputed life style. Larger cities included Indianapolis, Chicago, and Detroit. The migration centers that policy makers identified as being mid-sized and, therefore, more attractive to migrants from the mountains were Columbus, Cincinnati, and Lexington, Kentucky, as well as Charleston, Knoxville, and Chattanooga.[113]

One possibility for the return of migrants' family members and loved ones to the mountains for burial was the issue of "social isolation within kinship networks and residential instability . . . ."[114] Fowler suggested that the migrants depended emotionally as well as economically on their relatives in the early days of their settlement in a new place, and this "buffer" was only as deep as there were relatives to absorb the added drain on their resources.[115] The network of relatives may take the place of whatever social services were available, but relatives were much more palatable to migrants than were the strangers at the door or at the centers representing social services. According to Fowler, a combination of "mountain pride" and a suspicion of "formal, public institutions" served to reinforce the need of migrants to depend on each other rather than on outside help.[116] Most reliable of all, in the migrants' minds, was the strength that their religious beliefs afforded them. Their home church families still residing in the mountains were geographically close enough and accessible enough to encourage frequent trips back to their comfort zones of the mountains, at least in the earliest months and years of migration.[117]

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[112] Ibid., 6.
[113] Niles M. Hansen, *Intermediate-Size Cities as Growth Centers: Applications for Kentucky, the Piedmont Crescent, the Ozarks, and Texas* (New York: Praeger, 1971): 94-111, 125-30.
[114] Fowler, 1.
[115] Ibid., 5.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., 7.

Chapter 5

Mountain Religion: "Not the Religion of the Poor"[118]

There is no doubt that the physical lives of the Appalachians suffered in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. A combination of the economic depression felt by the entire nation and the growing inequality between the technological advancement that World War II brought to Americans and the absence of those advancements in mountain communities made the lives of mountaineers in Kentucky appear all that much more stark. The resources that the earliest mountaineers had relied on for their livelihoods were being removed at a great pace and were also exploited by those who bought up the land and its resources in a way that bypassed the men and women who had been conservators of those resources for generations. Between 1950 and 1960, over a million white southerners moved north to the large cities that held the promise of employment. Indeed, with a decrease of the foreign immigrants that had been part of the work force until after World War II, many of the industrial cities of the north were advertising for workers to fill the positions that had been left vacant. Migrants from the Appalachian Mountain counties now called home such places as Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Springfield.[119] Nearer home, Hamilton County, Ohio, with its large paper-manufacturing enterprise beckoned many who were seeking a regular paycheck. Whether or not the stereotypes of mountain people were accurate, the migrants had to adjust their slower-paced ways of life to align themselves with the frenetic pace that was found in many larger cities, especially cities in which factory work was based on a strict pattern of attendance at specific times and places with little consideration of any kind of private life that the miners had previously known.

In 1962, when many miners moved north, they may have been acquainted with television in their new homes, but they possessed few, if any, of what were then considered luxuries: electrical appliances, privately owned automobiles, or the wherewithal to travel. What they did have in their homes in the north were steady

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[118] Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995),7.

[119] Susan Allyn Johnson, "Industrial Voyagers: A Case Study of Appalachian Migration to Akron, Ohio" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2006), 16.

incomes, electricity, indoor bathrooms, and running water where they lived. The one, overriding resource that the mountaineer migrants brought with them was their religion. For this, they turned to "fundamentalist sects and their little store-front churches, where they [could] feel more comfortable and sing their lusty hymns to their hearts' content."[120] Even this comfort could be foreign to the migrant since the traditions of northern churches, even churches of the same denomination, were often totally alien to the tradition that the miners had known.

In order to appreciate the ties that migrant miners felt to their religious experiences in the mountains, it is necessary to understand the roles of religion in many communities, but particularly in the mountain regions of eastern Kentucky. Any observation of the religious significance of spiritual belief must begin with the acceptance of the binary function of religion as a belief system and a political system. Humankind has explored throughout its existence the questions of how we came to inhabit this earth and, even more imperative, what we are, as humans, meant to do with our very brief lives on earth. Either of the two halves of any religious organization or sect can influence the other half depending on the strength of the dominant leaders of either the belief or the politics as well as the needs identified by the group adhering to a particular religion. In a thoughtful and comprehensive review of the work of Antonio Gramsci, Dwight B. Billings examined the effects of religion on two early twentieth century industries that shared a wide geographical space: the textile mill workers of the southern Piedmont and the coal miners in the eastern Kentucky coalfields. Gramsci's work covered, in large part, the different ways in which textile workers and coal miners used their religious beliefs to effect or restrain changes in their work environments as well as the ways in which a particular religious organization led the way for workers to demand better lives of their employers. The core of Gramsci's writing regarded oppositional elements to justify either the status quo or to "protest, change, and liberate" workers' complaints. Religion serves, Billings contended, to "mediate . . . between oppression and opposition or submission."[121]

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[120] Ibid.

[121] Dwight B. Billings, "Religion as Opposition: A Gramscian Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology* 96, no.1 (July 1990): 2.

Good history books abound that survey dozens of ethnic groups living in the United States and the ways in which one group differs from another, and those differences can translate into either an appreciative audience of fellow Americans and world citizens, or it can be used to bully, harass, demean, and suppress, depending on the interactions between two groups of people. Perhaps the most crucial factor in any ethnic group is the way in which it worships: its beliefs, its acknowledgments of life as it exists, and its reflection of how one lives his or her life on earth. Religion or the lack of religion is such a core value that wars are fought in its behalf. At probably no time in history has there been complete harmony over the proper, correct, most acceptable way to worship. The word worship itself is problematic given that some sections of society believe that to worship anything is somehow self-sacrificing beyond normal limits while others insist that to worship anything is to place man in an unacceptable position. No matter the religious identity, it is safe to say that most individuals during some time of their lives seek to rationalize their existence on earth, whether it is how they are treated, how they treat others, or how they treat their environment. In today's society, great emphasis is placed on man's stewardship of the earth, the oceans, and the skies above. Humankind has placed itself at the center of history as the responsible party to whom God has entrusted this part of the universe. Whether or not man is, indeed, the designated driver of earth, its care-taker, the human response to that charge is inextricably linked to religion or its lack.

Billings posited that "religion has stressed the positive contribution . . . to the maintenance of social order . . . ."[122] Religion serves as "apology and legitimation of the status quo and its culture of injustice on the one hand, and as a means of protest, change, and liberation on the other hand."[123] This opposition by the miners' religious bodies to the oppressions of the mine owners was a catalyst in many instances for the laborers' resistance to ways in which mine owners were demanding the labor of its workers without comparable compensation. Billings noted the difference in success between an "oppositional stance" that the millworkers of the southern Piedmont displayed and the

[122] Ibid.

[123]Dorothee Solle, included in Inger Furseth and Pai Repstad, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1984), 21.

effectiveness experienced by coal miners of eastern Kentucky. He pointed out that religious leaders in the coal camps were just as dependent on the mine owners as were the miners themselves, but when striking miners were thwarted in their struggles, lay ministers within the coal camps displaced the authorized clergy and conducted "clandestine services."[124] Billings concluded: "Protestant religion thus functioned in parts of Appalachia as an oppositional discourse and practice."[125] In other words, religion in coal camps in the earliest decades of the twentieth century functioned as much as political systems as it did belief systems, and the support afforded the miners the connection they needed to venture out of the mountains and into urban areas that were very different from their homelands.

Gramsci viewed the "ability to shape . . . perceptions [as] an important power resource."[126] The miners saw their religious leaders as endorsing a "moral authority of the Sunday sermon . . ."[127] In addition to the personal comfort and support that miners and their families received from their participation in religious practices, the knowledge that their particular pastors and church members understood and supported their struggles gave them the inner strength they needed to migrate, if necessary, to other parts of the country where their labor was at least rewarded financially, if not appreciated.

Deborah Vansau McCauley began her expansive history of Appalachian mountain religion with a poetic response by one of her resources, Brother Coy Miser:

> *As big as the world is, as many people as there are,*
> *That's the only place that God has got to live in this world*
>
> *Is in the hearts of people, men and women.*
>
> *He's big enough to fill the universe,*
>
> *But yet he is small enough to live in our hearts.*
>
> *The only place right now he has got to live*

[124] Billings, "Religion as Opposition," 3.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., 6, and John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 15-20.
[127] Billings, 4.

Is in the hearts of the people,

And that's just the ones that will let him come in.

McCauley spent eighteen months as a research consultant for the study of Appalachian mountain religion for the Appalachian Ministries Education Resource Center (AMERC), based in Berea, Kentucky; five years later, she was a scholar in residence at the Center for American Culture Studies at Columbia University. Her academic credentials, as well as her obvious love of the people and culture of Appalachia, lent an authority to her discussion of the ways in which many mountain people worshipped and ordered their lives around what they believed was God's gift of land to them. Her examination of various religious beliefs among those who later were the migrants who left Appalachia to find more sustainable lives was both thorough and exacting. Historical research was primary in McCauley's work, and she adhered to a rigorous discipline as she portrayed each facet of the mountain—in many cases, the Holiness—religion. As she stated forcefully at the beginning of her book, "[T]his . . .is not about 'religion in Appalachia' or even 'Appalachian religion. It is about Appalachian *mountain* religion . . . ."[128] She further clarified her study as "precisely the defining configuration of land, people, history, and traditions that constitutes Appalachian mountain religion as a regional religious tradition."[129] The religion practiced among these mountain peoples was circumscribed in most instances by the mountains themselves, except, as McCauley noted, "through out-migration."[130] McCauley explained that because the mountain religion is "essentially an oral religious tradition. . .known primarily through its oral literature and material culture," it remains largely unknown by the rest of the country. Whereas followers of a particular denomination outside the region have developed other rituals and liturgies, the mountain religion identifies more closely with the doctrines of Jonathan Edwards of the early eighteenth century than with later revivalists.[131] Mountain religion is not, according to McCauley,

[128]Ibid., 1.
[129] Ibid., 2.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid., 6.

merely a "subgroup" of Protestantism as practiced in America, but a unique tradition with its own integrity.[132]

In order to better understand the connection that migrants felt to their mountain religious roots, particularly in the tradition of the Holiness belief, it is helpful to examine in further detail the specific beliefs as they pertain to mountaineers of the early twentieth century. The quality of humility and its connection to charity lies at the foundation of mountain religion. Charity, a habit of mind in which a person's value is never more than that of his or her neighbors, relatives, and friends, is considered more estimable than knowledge.[133] Humility and charity require listening with an "open mind," an avenue leading to religious knowledge.[134] That openmindedness provides the intuition that guides a mountaineer in his or her daily life. This openness places "nonrationality" as the most *rational* way of living. McCauley understood that this "nonrational religious experience" was not a comfortable manner of worship for Protestants who often placed value on "individual and institutional merit and achievement. . ."[135] This discomfort in laying bare one's soul, in becoming vulnerable, was often the manner of worship that eastern Kentucky migrants met as they sought to make religious connections with their Christian brothers and sisters in the northern cities. Rather than the small and local groups that constituted a mountaineer's religious "family," they were confronted with a "hierarchical institutionalism of denominationalism . . . ."[136] The entire substance of mountain religion was grounded in "grace and the Holy Spirit," unlike, for example, the doctrines of salvation and conversion as preached by Charles Grandison Finney, the " 'father' of modern revivalism, [for whom] salvation was no longer a 'miracle.'"[137] For Finney and his fellow evangelists, conversion could be achieved through the ministrations of an "expert" followed by an "individual's own act of will . . ."[138] For the Appalachian believer, God's grace was bestowed by God, not through human "manipulation."[139] McCauley likened this theological difference to the preaching of John

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[132] Ibid., 7.
[133] Ibid., 10.
[134] Ibid., 11.
[135] Ibid., 13.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., 15.

Calvin, a French theologian during the Protestant Reformation, a tradition that includes such groups as the "Old Regular Baptists and Primitive Baptists, as well as Free Will Baptists and independent Holiness . . . ." [140]

McCauley's attraction to mountain religion was enhanced during a semester in 1992 when she taught a course on "Appalachian Women and American Religion."[141] From that experience, she began to understand that the *land itself* played a primary role in the development of what she defined as mountain religion. The influx of missionaries and other notables into the Appalachians from the early nineteenth century to the present brought familiar denominations that had already carved a space throughout the entire country: names such as Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Catholics. Institutional denominations, however, underwent tremendous change as they were embraced by Appalachians. McCauley was explicit in her description of the religious practices of mountaineers. She rejected the terms "religion in Appalachia" or even "Appalachian religion," and instead preferred the term "mountain religion," especially as applied by such scholars as Loyal Jones.[142] The religious traditions of which McCauley wrote existed, she explained, "almost entirely in the region's mountains and small valleys . . . except through out-migration."[143] To the inexperienced eye, mountain religions are different solely through their denominations, but under McCauley's guidance, the observer is led to understand that Appalachian mountain religion is distinguished by the connections that mountaineers make between their beliefs and their hour-by-hour daily lives. As a basis for defining the boundaries of Appalachia, McCauley relied on John C. Campbell's map of the region,[144] or, as McCauley cited, Jesse Stuart's statement that "Appalachia is anywhere there's coal under the ground."[145] How the residents of the mountains saw themselves and their relationship to the terrain combined to create a

[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid., Acknowledgments, xii.
[142] Ibid., Introduction, 1.
[143] Ibid., 2.
[144] John C. Campbell, as quoted in McCauley, Introduction, 3.
[145] McCauley, Introduction, 3.

regional religious tradition.[146] Mountain religion, as McCauley defined it, does not identify with national, denominational, or organizational church structures.[147]

To many whose understanding of Appalachian mountaineers' life has been accessed through popular works such as novels, movies, and even its music, it is tempting to equate mountain religion with economic deprivation. McCauley was explicit in her denunciation of this labeling: "mountain religion is most certainly not 'the religion of the poor . . .[a] pernicious, insidious, and condescending interpretation of the church traditions unique to Appalachia . . . ."[148] The source of outsiders' views of Appalachian religious values as deriving from the perceived poverty of the area may have arisen from the belief that the denominational churches saw their expansion in Appalachia as mission-oriented rather than as growing faith communities.[149] Michael Ferber pointed out that the institutional Methodism that found a toehold in Appalachia was more attuned to the educational arm of its denomination, and, therefore, the spontaneous revivalist feature of the mountaineer's religious expression came to be a source of embarrassment to the larger Methodist congregation.[150] To enable Methodist missionaries – Free Methodist in this instance – to accept the mountaineers on an equal footing, missionaries had to see their work as assisting "uneducated converts rather than as spiritual siblings."[151] The Methodist Episcopal denomination, the heir of England's Reformation, could develop a mindset of superiority to their fellow Methodists and understand their, the Methodists', mandate as one of lifting the Appalachians out of poverty and into the interlaced world of doctrine, liturgy, and ritual. Ferber described the evolution of the Methodist Episcopal denomination to that of the Free Methodist that flourished in Appalachia as a shifting from a church of "worldliness and doctrinal laxity," a church that was known to "build stock churches, and furnish them to accommodate a select congregation: and with organs, melodeons, violins, and professional singers, to execute

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid., 7.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Michael Ferber, "Denominational Mountain Religion: A History of the Free Methodist Movement in West Virginia," http://are.as.wvu.edu/ferber.htm. 3.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

difficult pieces of music for a fashionable audience."[152] According to Ferber, the Free Methodists were accepted within Appalachia as the name suggests: a desire to be "free from ecclesiastical domination, a principle . . . also deeply rooted in the Appalachian mountain tradition" of unloosing themselves from outside influence.[153]

The most important features of the Free Methodist tradition were salvation, sanctification, simplicity, and intensity.[154] Ferber cited Catherine Albanese's explanation of the Appalachian's theme of salvation as a belief that "they were on earth to make a decision for this world or for the next one, for sin and personal ease or for their immortal souls and God."[155] This was an internalized belief that infused the Appalachian's life as well as a belief that he took with him as he migrated out of his supportive environment and into cities and communities, where he may have found a church home that called itself "Methodist," but which was undeniably different than the expression of that denomination as experienced in the mountains.

Ferber further examined the experience of sanctification as understood by the Free Methodists in Appalachian communities, an experience that he defined as "heart 'holiness."[156] Holiness becomes problematic among non-practitioners of the faith as it is often confused with the Pentecostal Church. Many Holiness and Pentecostal believers will state that the words are interchangeable and that both labels describe this expression of faith,[157] but other historians and other church members separate the two in quite specific terms. Donald W. Dayton, then a professor of historical theology at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary and chair of the steering committee of the evangelical theology section of the American Academy of Religion, was clear in his description of "Holiness" and "Pentecostal" believers: "[S]omething of the difference may be seen in the caricature that Holiness churches emphasize as the 'graces' or 'fruits' of the Spirit

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[152] Benjamin Titus Roberts as quoted in Howard A. Snyder, "To Preach the Gospel to the Poor: Missional: Self-Understanding in Early Free Methodism (1860-90)," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* (1996): 33.

[153] Leslie Marston, *From Age to Age: A Living Witness* (Indianapolis: Light and Life Press, 1960), 264.

[154] Ferber, 4.

[155] Catherine Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1992), 332.

[156] Ferber, 6.

[157] Carolyn Sue Garrett, member of a Pentecostal Church: author's personal interview, September 10, 2014.

while Pentecostal churches place greater weight on the 'gifts' of the Spirit, especially 'divine healing' and glossolalia."[158] Whether or not an Appalachian believer is either of the "Holiness" or "Pentecostal" persuasion, only he or she knows, but it is significant that a difference is identified, especially as it follows the migrant into a larger community of believers. The traditions within which the Appalachian migrant was reared can define his assimilation into a larger culture and may be the impetus that leads him in later life to bring his deceased loved ones back to the mountains for burial.

Dayton further commented on the diversity that the Holiness/Pentecostal wing of the Christian religion exhibits. Followers of the Holiness churches range from the camp-meeting Methodists, to the antislavery Wesleyans and Free Methodists, to the Church of the Nazarene, to agencies such as the Salvation Army. Within that range are numerous smaller sects that differ sometimes on what others see as minutiae but which may be a stumbling block to those inside or outside the sect. For the mountain Christian, the differences in belief between what he feels in his heart is the right way to live and what his neighbor may believe are consequential. Current statistics show that the more conservative, liturgical forms of a denomination are ebbing while the freer forms of worship are cresting, with growth occurring in those churches that are less obsessed with the formalities of the service and more interested in the internal expression of faith as observed in less liturgical churches. Nevertheless, even the Holiness and Pentecostal churches are beginning to copy their older brothers and sisters in shifting authority away from the individual congregations and toward the structure of denominations and institutional hierarchy. Evidence of this transformation can be seen in the growth of seminaries among Holiness and Pentecostal churches.[159] This shifting of priorities may be the link that migrants encountered as they moved from their mountain churches to the larger, institutional umbrella of major denominations as practiced in northern communities.

This somewhat jaundiced view of poverty in Appalachia overlooked, among other things, the connection that mountaineers felt with the land they had inhabited and,

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[158] Donald W. Dayton, "The Holiness and Pentecostal Churches: Emerging From Cultural Isolation," *Christian Century* 96 (August 15-22, 1979): 786.

[159] Ibid.

in a very real sense, conquered. In her seminal history of the religious core of Appalachian peoples, McCauley insisted that "mountain religion is most certainly not 'the religion of the poor.' "[160] She described mountain religion as having "its own historical integrity that informs its uniqueness. . . .the geography itself, the reality of the land."[161] McCauley provided an entirely different view of the mountain people of the Appalachians than the "traditional Protestant" view of Appalachia as a "region in extremis, waiting for the salvific actions of the home missionaries to 'Help' mountain people and their region partake of 'Christian civilization.' "[162] Mountain religion is this "bridge" between the outsider who saw a different and downtrodden socioeconomic picture of eastern Kentucky Appalachian dwellers as opposed to the self-image of mountain people who relied on their faith as the connector between them and the land that they trusted. For the mountain dweller, humility was the value to be most sought. Humility was and is, for mountain people, "the only appropriate response in a grace-centered religious culture that emphasized a worldview recognizing all the many things or 'blessings' that come as an unmerited gift from God . . . ."[163] Only by understanding the core values of the "Holiness tradition" can anyone understand the invisible thread that connected those who migrated out of the mountains in order to find a "better way of life," and then brought them back into the mountains in a post-death migration to bury their loved ones. This was, for them, hallowed ground, attended by those who shared their beliefs that valued intuition or "listening to the heart" as the way by which they lived their lives.

[160] McCauley, 7.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid., 8.
[163] Ibid., 10.

Chapter 6

Religion in Northern Cities: Denominations and Congregations

The mutation of distinct denominationalism as observed in mountain religion and as discussed by McCauley was a process of fits and starts. Prior to the Civil War, Americans became more consciously aligned with mainstream Protestant denominations, especially Baptists and Methodists.[164] As these denominations became more visible in the East and in the South, they competed with Presbyterians and Congregationalists for the heart and soul of the populace. McCauley noted the transition of these churches from the traditional camp meetings to the larger, hierarchical institutions that began to identify with benevolent social services and that moved into evangelism with gusto.[165] McCauley explained this in part as the ways in which Methodists, in particular, saw their mission as one of education and the ability to contribute to a revival of the spiritual life in its members. As such, Methodism became "inclined to magnify the material and intellectual unduly, and place special emphasis on the building of fine churches, organization, education, training, [and] culture."[166] Mountain religion, on the other hand, tended to value "simplicity and humility," a characteristic of the early settlers in the mountains and a stumbling block to becoming part of the hierarchical denominations that were spreading throughout the country.

A response to the loss of this "heart holiness" and the movement to a larger organization was observed as the rise of a distinct shift to smaller, independent churches with few direct ties to the mainline churches that were already established in the mountain areas. A movement could be traced from the "camp-meeting religion" of Baptists and Methodists to a "plain-folk camp–meeting religion as an independent movement" that thrived in mountain religion.[167] Now, the intellectualization of salvation was achieved through "rational persuasion" rather than "God's grace" that mountaineers believed was bestowed by the Creator without being deserved or sought.[168] McCauley described this shift as "a theological shift toward Arminianism . . . expressed in the free

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[164] Ibid.,113.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.,116.
[167] Ibid.,119.
[168] Ibid.

will and self-determination of the individual in the salvation process." The movement was toward "social control" rather than the mountain religion that emphasized "grace and humility." Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists had grown from religious tenets that formed the daily, even hourly, lives of the earliest mountaineers to an institutionalized form that was believed to be better able to deal with the emergence of the United States as a Christian country and that could teach and preach with more consistency if there was an umbrella organization to codify belief. Centralization replaced individualization, and in the vacuum left, mountaineers began to adapt the foundations of the mainline churches to forms that better suited the smaller, less universal groups of Christians that remained hungry for God, but only in ways that meshed with their more pastoral ways of life. "Mountain religion's flat rejection of denominationalism," according to McCauley, "was a rejection of a specific system of values . . . ."[169] Presbyterians, as an example, puzzled over the fact that those mountaineers who were of Scotch-Irish descent moved from the confines of the institutional church to the "'peculiarities' of mountain religion."[170]

As historians sought to understand the pull of mountain religion on migrants who wanted the familiar trappings of their faith when they came to bury their loved ones, it was instructive to understand how the institutionalized denominations evolved into forms that, while using the same names to identify themselves as they had in the mountains, became quite different entities. Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists might carry the same nomenclature as they once did in the mountains and in other more discrete areas of the United States, but in ways of worship that migrants from the mountains understood, they might as well as have been from another planet. One facet of this evolution from mountain religion to the denominations as found in larger cities, especially in the north, was the impact that regionalism had on the northern churches. Bret E. Carroll, then an associate professor in the Department of History at California State University, has studied and written of the phenomena of regionalism and its effect on migration. Carroll quoted Edwin Scott Gaustad's *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* as he explained that, "evangelists persuaded, colonies

[169] Ibid., 124.
[170] Ibid., 125.

united, immigrants invaded, frontiers expanded, and people in general did an incredible amount of moving around."[171] Historians were divided on whether or not "interregional migration and mass communication had homogenized American life and eroded regional distinctions during the twentieth century," more specifically identified as the "convergence theory." Others saw the divisions as manifesting the differences between the liberal and conservative arms of various denominations.[172] These differences affected, and may still be affecting, the ways in which migrants from the mountains in the early twentieth century responded by clutching tightly the religion of their ancestors, especially as it was identified as a "mountain religion." Some who studied and wrote extensively about regional differences as expressed in religious habits suggested that the "migration and religious commitment might indicate only regional organizational strength rather than real cultural distinctiveness."[173] The extent and depth of these studies, especially as they focused on pluralism versus convergence, helps to explain the need felt by migrant mountaineers to return to their geographical beginnings as they faced end-of-life issues.

A scientific study cannot look into the human soul and determine the degree of piety; therefore, external, measureable devices must be employed with an eye to understanding and quantifying to some degree man's relationship to God, to his fellow man, and to his environment. A great deal has been written about the steps forward and back taken by mainline churches as they encountered the changing face of America: fundamentalism to a tolerance of others' beliefs, conservative to liberal, local to national, private and personal to social and general; all of these issues and more tend to either gather in or exclude individuals under the wings of a denomination.

Added to the differences in character of various religions is the binary purpose of religion: its function as either a spiritual or a political agency. Americans have based their government on the distinction between the spiritual and the political halves of

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[171]Edwin Scott Gaustad, as quoted in: Bret E. Carroll, "Reflections on Regionalism and U. S. Religious History," *Church History* 71, no. 1 (March 2002): 121.

[172]Bret E. Carroll, "Reflections on Regionalism and U. S. Religious History," *Church History* 71, no. 1 (March 22): 124.

[173]William M. Newman and Peter L. Halvorson, "Religion and Regional Culture: Patterns of Concentration and Change Among American Religious Denominations, 1952-1980," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23 (1984): 313-14.

personal beliefs and ideology, and this country's religious history is one of acknowledging the dissidents from other countries who have emigrated to America's shores as either an escape from despotic rule over religion or as a lure to establish their own religious beliefs without interference by others. As each denomination has taken hold in this country, church doctrine has been adapted to suit the needs of the particular group practicing that belief; the Catholic Church may be an exception as it has established a somewhat inflexible universal doctrine that, until recently, was even conducted in a single language regardless of in what part of the world a service was held. Belonging to a particular Protestant denomination tends to be affected by the adherent's social position even more than the official theology of that church.[174] Very often, too, membership in or adherence to a particular denomination can be identified with a liberal or a conservative leaning as to the local church's effectiveness in the community: is it a source of social support such as the work of soup kitchens and day-care groups, or is it a strict interpretation of religious belief that identifies the practitioner as more or less pious than his neighbors?

Another way of assessing the differences between denominations and their sub-groups is the difference between theology and sociology.[175] As James R. Shortridge explained in his discussion of the patterns of religion, "[V]oting behavior and other political activity . . . have been shown to be linked intimately with the religious schism . . . ."[176] Shortridge further noted that "liberal churches give way abruptly to conservative ones along the well-established culture boundary of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia."[177] This trend toward conservatism appears to extend throughout the mountain regions of the eastern part of the United States and can be observed particularly in the eastern mountains of Kentucky and the western mountains of West Virginia, including the Carolina Piedmont and the Kentucky Bluegrass. Those counties in this area that

[174]James R. Shortridge, "Patterns of Religion in the United States," *Geographical Review* 66, no. 4 (October 1976): 422.
[175] Ibid., 423.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 424.

include larger cities, universities, and military bases are, on the other hand, more liberal than the enclaves that are more isolated.[178]

For migrants who ventured north and west during the first half of the twentieth century, their faith was not identified according to any specific opposition between liberal-conservative, public-private, theological-sociological pairings, but was truly a matter of where they felt most comfortable. Many would have been unaware of a shift between the orthodox and personal beliefs of their kinfolk to a "highly nationalized" faith; small groups of like-minded believers were all that was necessary in order to establish small sects that followed the guidelines they had been taught as children. World events such as the two world wars also contributed to the widening gap between "organized religion," as it is often defined, and the evolution of more personal beliefs that were individualized as each person sought to align his spiritual quest to the world as he found it. Much has been written of the conflict between the rise of institutional hierarchical denominations versus the quieter, less visible, but just as viable smaller sects within mainstream denominations; for additional study of those issues, the writings of James R. Shortridge and Bret E. Carroll are recommended.

The denominations that carried familiar names to those migrants who moved north and west in search of financial stability were quite often not the denominations that had been molded within the mountain areas to suit the needs of those who lived and worked with the land, both as agriculturists and as coal miners. As denominations that were generally understood and accepted for their historical underpinnings and their social and theological foundations, they also came to be differentiated from other Protestant denominations that held different views of man and his relationship to God, to his neighbor, and to his environment. Methodists held different ideas of administration; Presbyterians addressed differences in liturgy; Congregationalists' governance was different than most others; and Baptists, at least in that denomination's earliest decades, held themselves apart from the political scene. A Presbyterian traveler could, with little trepidation, find a church service that was familiar in its ritual no matter in what part of the country he visited. Methodists who moved into different communities could be well

[178] Ibid., 427.

assured that they would find an outlet for their social action desire to serve. However, as the mainline churches became more universal through the Americas, disagreements within the denominations were often intense and quite often led to splits within a particular church. Especially important in these schisms was the effect of the American Civil War and the issues of slavery, states' rights, and authority. These divisions were deep and long-lasting, and in many cases, they were not addressed and rectified until the latter decades of the twentieth century, many not even then.

The mountaineer who incorporated his devotion to God into his care for the land that he tended may have been less aware of these divisions until he and his family moved north and west into areas in which the differences between the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. [North] and the Presbyterian Church, U. S. [South], for example, were still raging and painful to the members of congregations even decades later into the 1990s. Authors Dougherty, Johnson, and Polson have studied these divisions, and they have concluded that denominations have become less important in defining religious issues than originally conceived, and that the better explanation lies along the continuum between liberal and conservative. The authors cite, in particular, the work of researcher Tom Smith, who organized respondents into the categories of "fundamentalist, moderate, or liberal."[179] These changes in how a denomination was organized, administered, and evaluated would have been of much less importance to a mountaineer migrant as he scrabbled to feed his family by moving to a more economically supportive environment. The niceties of church polity, regardless of the name on the door or on the Sunday bulletin, was of little interest to families who had relied on their daily "walk with God" as they tried to eke out livings from depleted resources. Thus, when the nominal Methodist or Presbyterian family from Kentucky's easternmost counties moved bag and baggage to Cincinnati, or Dayton, or Chicago, or Detroit, they may have experienced a loss that was as keenly felt as if they had lost a beloved family member. As several scholars put it, "religious labels are meaningful for the most religiously active members of U. S. society, and relatively meaningless for those less active."[180] The believing mountaineer is not less active in his religion; he or she is differently active, and the theological differences within

[179] Kevin D. Dougherty, Byron R Johnson and Edward C. Polson, "Recovering the Lost: Remeasuring U. S. Religious Affiliation," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46, no. 4 (December 2007): 485.
[180] Ibid., 486.

and without a particular denomination would not have been of immediate concern. Sorting and quantifying religious groups according to "theology, history, and religious culture" was not a meaningful measurement to those who identified as members of the mountain religion. More important to migrant mountaineers, as it ultimately has been found with most Americans, is not the denomination but the congregation that matters, and in the ethnic enclaves that arose in northern cities as migrants began to settle with like-minded friends or kinfolk, the small groups or "congregations" of believers became their religious family.[181]

This confusing shift from denomination to congregation inspired many migrants in the north to reject the prejudice that some churches manifested since that had seldom been a factor in their mountain beliefs. In an earlier study, Dean R. Hoge and Jackson W. Carroll explored the evidence of prejudice as it was found in both northern and southern churches. At the outset, the authors contended that "church attenders are more prejudiced than non-attenders."[182] The authors explained in more detail their findings, and, while the statement itself is headline-grabbing, there are factors involved that help to explain this rather startling statement. A distinction is made between the "extrinsically motivated. . .who *uses* his religion, [and] the intrinsically motivated [who] *lives* his religion." Using McCauley's certainty that the mountaineer *lives* his faith, it is easy to understand the mountain migrant who finds himself in a situation where those who claim to be of the same beliefs as he are, instead, blatantly prejudiced against others. As Hoge and Carroll explained, "the person with intrinsic religious orientation finds his master motive in religion, so that his religious beliefs and commitments guide his behavior in other areas of life."[183] Those church members who are more dogmatic in matters of faith tend to be more closed-minded and more prone to prejudice.[184]

One factor in the experience of a northern church and one that migrants from the eastern counties of Kentucky would have experienced was the physical differences of *liturgy* and *ritual*. Liturgy and ritual, for the purposes of this paper, are somewhat

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[181] Ibid. 488.

[182] R. Hoge and Jackson W Carroll, "Religiosity and Prejudice in Northern and Southern Churches," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12, no. 2 (June 1973): 181.

[183] Ibid., 182.

[184] Ibid.

interchangeable; however, a more accurate distinction lies in *liturgy* as an Eucharistic rite, or a particular form of ritual, a Greek word that means "public service." *Ritual* is a less specific form that can mean a prescribed or established form of a religious ceremony, but which can also be applied to other actions in which an individual might engage such as a man's "shaving *ritual*" or a child's "dressing *ritual.*" These distinctions, while well within the native mountaineer's ability to understand, might be irrelevant to his daily life and unimportant in his guardianship of the land.

The writings of those interested in the liturgy and ritual of any denomination are important only as they serve to include or exclude believers who wish to identify with a particular denomination or congregation. For the early twentieth-century east-Kentuckian migrant, who found himself settled in a major industrialized city in the north, liturgy was important if it helped to remind the believer of his relationship with God and with those around him. Whether or not hymns were sung sitting or standing, prayers were voiced standing or kneeling, voiced or silent, or whether baptism was administered to infants or to adults, the abiding benefit of a church service or gathering for the migrant was the feeling of peace and the acknowledgement of strength that the worship service afforded him. Unlike the congregant who arrived at a service dressed in the fashion mode of the day and who left the service in a late-model vehicle, who spent his afternoon in leisure and woke on Monday morning with a valued profession from which to earn a living, the migrant might have clean clothing, but it might have been a cleaner work outfit than the one he wore every day. He or she might have used the one day off from work to complete all of the household chores that were left undone because of the pressures of work. If the migrant was a parent, he might have had the luxury of an hour or two of companionship with his children, but more often, he might have needed to use those *leisure* hours to work on an old vehicle with the hope of its carrying him to a job that provided for his family, but at which he might work more than the forty-hour work week of his better-placed fellow congregant.

The distinction between a Directory for Worship—the manual that included the constitution of the denomination as well as that of a specific congregation and which had the authority of church law—and a service book, a sort of guidebook for the order of

service and which may include certain prayers, creeds, and scripture, was a distinction that few migrants found valuable.[185]

Perhaps the most telling sentence in the entire Book of Common Worship, a thousand-page document, is the last sentence where believers are instructed that, "[T]he public reading of the scripture should be entrusted to those who have the ability to read well."[186] This would have been in sharp contrast to mountain people—literate or not—who knew the Bible "primarily as oral literature." In her book, McCauley explained that "oral literature results in a mode of text interpretation not grounded in the abstraction of ideas from their linguistic environment, so favored by their more 'literate' and generally better educated counterparts in American Protestantism. . . ."[187] From the advantage of historical distance, it is tempting to view mountain religion as the religion of the ignorant or the uneducated as well as the religion of the poor, but experience has taught us that what is vital in one community may be disregarded in another, and that the difference does not label either choice as "good" or "bad." The suggestion that only those who read well were to be invited to read the scripture to the congregation speaks less well for the "evolved" church than for those who might have been role models for expressing God's love to humanity. As researcher Russell E. Hall asserted, "Education has posed more problems for the Church than perhaps any other one thing."[188]

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[185] *Book of Common Worship,* Preface (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 2.
[186] Ibid., 37.
[187] McCauley,76.
[188] Russell E. Hall, "An Outline History of the Presbyterian Church in America." Editor's Note: *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (1943-1961*) 26, no. 4 (December 1948): 3.

Chapter 7

Post-Death Migration: A Return to the Mountains to Bury Their Kin

While denominations across the country were beginning to solidify and quantify their particular theological stance, a parallel movement of equal, if not greater, importance was occurring in the eastern and southern states. Both white and black populations were leaving their mountain homes and heading north into centers of industrialization where they thought they had a better chance of employment and a new start for their families. For cities such as Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee, first men, then their families, abandoned their mountain communities; they followed a chain migration to cities where opportunities were better. From letters sent home and from the occasional visitor who returned to Kentucky over a weekend, both black and white mountaineers were encouraged to leave what was familiar and comfortable, but also cold and unforgiving in many instances, and settle where there was better access to health care, schools, and for blacks the ability to participate in national life via the vote.

Nevertheless, in many instances, the migrants' moves were considered temporary as they planned a return to the mountains once they had become financially stable. More, perhaps, than their black contemporaries, the mountaineer migrants' movement north was rarely considered to be permanent. Where the migration of African Americans brought not only better financial possibilities but also provided a better chance at becoming a fully franchised citizen, this was something their white brethren already possessed and had no need to pursue. Even though blacks' civil rights were long delayed, even in the North, the promise of becoming equal citizens hung before them as a carrot on a stick. White mountaineers migrated for much different reasons. They did not have to deny the color of their skin in order to apply for jobs; whatever discrimination the mountaineer might have suffered was due more to his habits of independence and isolation from the wider world than from some perceived difference in his physical appearance. The mountaineer moved solely to find a more comfortable existence for his family based on an increased earning capacity, but for the most part, he believed that the best quality of life was still to be found in the mountains.

For the reasons stated above and as a means of reconnecting with his mountain roots, the migrant living and working in the north began what has been labeled a "post-death migration." That is, at least by the earlier decades of the twentieth century, when a beloved family member died, he or she was brought back to the homes and spiritual centers of those who had remained behind. As Robert L. Boyd has noted, "[I]n all cultures, the disposal of the dead is a central event in the social life of the community."[189] This was especially true in the mountains. A century after the migration of both whites and blacks to northern and western cities, the task of understanding why mountaineers chose to return their family members to the mountains for burial is difficult. Even local undertakers in mountain communities are no longer witnesses as to why relatives were returned to family plots to be interred. Surviving family members are several generations removed from those who first migrated north and then made the decision to return the deceased to their locales in the Appalachian Mountains.

One paramount consideration was the cost of the burial. The financial outlay in urban centers could range from the cost of opening and closing graves, to the cost of caskets and funeral services, and the distance that close family members and friends might have to travel to the burial service; even the season and the weather contributed to a decision that, hopefully, wore well with the deceased person's survivors.

Roger Hicks has written a first-hand view of the family cemetery and its place in the burial practices in Appalachia. He wrote that family cemeteries had their first use in post-Contact Kentucky as white and black settlers came into the area with Daniel Boone and his contemporaries. When a loved one died, the early settlers might not have been at their destination, and, for sanitary reasons, the decedent was buried wherever the ground was soft enough to dig a grave.[190] If possible, the grave was on high ground in order to mitigate the problems of flooding. Once the travelers settled in Kentucky, a grave site was determined, and the first grave dug there might establish the name: "Williams Family Graveyard," "Brown's Family Cemetery," or some other name that identified that parcel of land as hallowed ground belonging to an extended family. According to Hicks, bodies

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[189] Robert L. Boyd, "Black Undertakers in Northern Cities During the Great Migration: The Rise of an Entrepreneurial Occupation*," Sociological Focus* 31, no. 3 (August 1998): 250.

[190] Roger Hicks, "The Family Cemetery and Burial Practices in Appalachia," http://myappalachianlife.blogspot.com/2011/05/family-cemetery. (May 31, 2011): 1.

were interred with the face of the dead facing east where it would "see" the sunrise, possibly reflecting the belief that with the second coming of Christ, "the dead will rise again."[191] Fences, trees, and flowers might be added as time and money permitted. Family cemeteries have remained in families for generations, and the care and upkeep of the plot often falls to the oldest, most able member of the surviving relatives who must keep the sites weeded and mowed.[192]

As a methodological tool to determine if, in fact, post-death migration occurred, hundreds of obituaries have been accessed and sorted according to the particular county in which the deceased was buried. From these obituaries, a determination was made as to the fact of post-death migration by noting the numbers of survivors of each of the deceased who were still residents of northern cities. The assumption is that survivors in northern industrial cities were a good indication that an earlier migration was made from the mountains to those cities and that siblings and children might have remained; that may be one of the only ways in which to quantify those who returned, or were returned, to the mountains for burial. Added to the numbers of survivors in northern, industrial cities is the information about the decedents' church membership, funeral site, and burial site. In many instances, parts of this information were not included in the obituaries, but enough information was given to arrive at a general picture of post-death migration.[193]

Obituaries are fickle friends. Depending on the area, the decade, and the editor of any newspaper, obituaries may reveal a wealth of information about the deceased or little more than names and funeral sites. In their earliest presentation, obituaries first came to be published by newsbook compilers of seventeenth-century England. Colonial newspapers in America contained death information, but the inclusion of obituaries became less favorable in the eighteenth century, only to be resurrected in the twentieth.[194] Samuel Bonsu, writing about obituaries in Ghana, explained that obituaries are cultural texts that present the memories of the dead using representations of social symbols to

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[191] Ibid.

[192] For a more complete discussion of family cemeteries and burial customs in the earliest decades of Kentucky life, a book by James K. Crissman, *Death and Dying in Central Kentucky*, is suggested.

[193] Statistical information regarding the accessed obituaries is contained in the Appendix included at the end of this paper.

[194] Nigel Starck, "Posthumous Parallel and Parallex: The Obituary Revival on Three Continents," *Journalism Studies* 6, no. 3 (2005): 267.

identify the decedent's status in the community.[195] This is as true of obituaries in mountain communities in eastern Kentucky as it is of obituaries in Africa. Other than the name, the age [in most cases], and the site of death, some obituaries provided the names and places of residence of survivors, the church affiliation of the deceased, the name of the funeral home or location where a memorial service was held, and the place of burial. Others, whether because of the limitations of space, the policy of the particular newspaper, or the whim of the editor, omitted all but the most important items of information: name, age, and funeral site.

For the purposes of this paper, over five hundred obituaries were accessed, read, and recorded, providing (where included) the name, gender, age at death, address at death, information relative to a previous address, church affiliation, funeral site, and burial site. Of most importance in linking the decedent to a possible earlier migration of his ancestors was the inclusion of the numbers of siblings and/or children whose address at the time of their relative's death indicated that they were living in any of the northern industrial cities that had been the location of migrants' new homes. In addition to cities such as Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit, other locales in the northern states were also uncovered.

Obituaries were taken from cities and counties in eastern Kentucky including Harlan (*Harlan Daily Enterprise*); Clay City (*Clay City Times*); Whitesburg (*The Mountain Eagle*); Paintsville (*The Paintsville Herald*); and Barbourville (*The Mountain Advocate*). As a control group of obituaries where there was less likelihood of migrants' residences, the cities of central Kentucky including Louisville (*Louisville Courier-Journal*), Lexington (*Lexington Herald*), and Richmond (*Richmond Register*) were recorded, as well as Columbia in Adair County (*Adair County News*), and Covington (*Kentucky Post*). When available, the burial sites were listed, and of special note were the numbers of family cemeteries that were named as the final resting place for the deceased. In total, obituary information was taken from ten different areas or cities and from six different decades, ranging from Louisville and Barbourville in the 1930s to

[195] Samuel K. Bonsu, "The Presentation of Dead Selves in Everyday Life: Obituaries and Impression Management," *Symbolic Interaction* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 199.

Lexington in 1986. The number of obituaries was approximately evenly divided between counties of the eastern Appalachian area and counties of the central or western areas.

Obituaries were accessed in a random fashion and were acquired on microfilm through Inter-Library Loan from the University of Kentucky Library. Of the 523 obituaries accessed, 251 were from the eastern Kentucky counties and 272 were from central and western Kentucky, with the majority being listed in the *Lexington Herald*. Three hundred and one of the obituaries were of males, and two hundred and twenty-two were of females. The disparity between obituaries of men and women may reflect either the greater longevity of females, or it may be that the deaths of men were considered to be more important and more worthy of publication. Obituaries for those that were below the age of twenty-five were not included simply because they may have been too far removed from the generations involved in post-death migration.

Church affiliations in the central and western areas were heavily weighted with Methodists, Presbyterians, Christians, and Baptists. A very few listed a Catholic church as the decedent's home church; the largest number of Catholics listed were close to the metropolitan areas of Cincinnati and Louisville. Many of the mainline Protestant churches bore names that identified them geographically rather than theologically. Wayland United Methodist Church, Hunter Presbyterian Church, Woodbine Baptist Church, and North Middleton Christian Church were representative names of churches within the flatlands of Kentucky. In those areas, it was more unusual to see names such as "Little Samuel Old Regular Baptist Church at Lothair" or "Coal Spring Regular Baptist Church." Among the mountain counties, however, there was a preponderance of churches with colloquial names: Britains Creek Baptist Church, Free Pentecostal Church, Black Bottom Church of God, or the Williams Branch Primitive Baptist Church. The inclusion of a decedent's church was much more likely to be found in the obituaries of mountain counties. Since the larger newspapers, such as the *Lexington Herald*, routinely printed obituaries from outside areas, it was difficult to determine whether or not the deceased was from Lexington or from some area that was more correctly identified as an Appalachian area. The funeral site was also much more apt to be at the decedent's church or one within the same denomination in the mountain counties than in the central and western counties. In Fayette and Adair counties, for example, of the 224 obituaries

listed, only twenty-five are shown as having the funeral service at the same site as the church affiliation. Almost all of those occurred in the Adair obituaries. In comparison, of seventy-one obituaries in Harlan County alone, fifty-one are listed as having the funeral at the same site as the church affiliation. Other newspapers from Barbourville, Clay City, Whitesburg, and Paintsville followed that same pattern.

Family cemeteries, or those construed to be, are much more evident in obituaries from the mountain counties than those of central and western counties. Paintsville, for example, lists twenty-eight of the sixty-five obituaries as "family cemeteries." Additionally, other Paintsville cemeteries bore a last name that was either the same as the decedent's or could be construed to be a family cemetery. The locations of many of these mountain cemeteries are included as a means of directing the mourners to burial sites that might not be as well known. "Conley Cemetery at Joe's Creek," "Family Cemetery at Daniels Creek near Van Lear," and "Jackson Cemetery near Baileys Switch" all indicate that those paying their last respects might not have easily located the place of burial, though it was one easily known to close family members. More than almost any other factors, the return to home churches, the funeral service in many of those home churches, and burial in family cemeteries are good indications that the deceased's surviving family members felt a connection to their religious roots that required that the decedent be returned to home territory for the funeral and burial.

Of all of the information gleaned from obituaries, however, the one item that best supports the theory that obituaries reveal a hidden, but obvious, fact of the migration of earlier ancestors is the number of survivors listed that name children and/or siblings still living in northern cities, particularly industrial cities. If a survivor's name did not have a northern address, or if there were no survivors named at all, the count was considered zero. If one or more survivors lived in the same northern city or area, each one was counted separately. In addition to the major industrial cities of Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis, Cleveland, and Detroit, other cities and towns in proximity to those larger cities were included. Every effort was made toward accuracy in counting the survivors who did or did not live in northern cities given that was the one indicator that supported the thesis of a "post-death migration" of eastern Kentuckians, those who had once lived

in the mountains, who moved to northern areas that offered jobs and sustainability, and who later brought deceased loved ones back to their mountains for burial.

In a total count of survivors still living in northern cities, seventy-eight survivors are listed in a total count of obituaries from Adair, Covington, Richmond, Lexington, and Louisville. In the remaining mountain cities of Barbourville, Clay City, Harlan, Paintsville, and Whitesburg, a total of 371 survivors gave current addresses in the northern states, almost five times as many as in the other counties. Various reasons may account for this ratio that were not influenced by decades' old migration: the lure of jobs not unlike their ancestors, educational opportunities that were not available in the mountains, family dynamics such as marriage or divorce, or as a move toward the more exciting cities of the northeast; however, it is logical to think that they may have stayed put long after their ancestors died. In many obituaries, also, little space was given for the names and addresses of survivors; this, too, may have skewed the numbers; however, given the much larger number of survivors in northern cities, the difference between the numbers accessed from mountain counties, and those from central Kentucky cities, is still significant.

Extrapolating hidden information from fluid sources is admittedly risky, but the obituaries cited support the proffered theory that those who migrated north during and after the Depression that shadowed the country early in the twentieth century, as well as a World War that gravely affected the mountain communities, would have followed trails north and away from the Appalachian Mountains. The trip north often included a return journey south back to the embrace of family and the certainty of religious belief. Although the migrants might have returned frequently and briefly to their mountains and then ridden north again to jobs and settlements, the one permanent journey home would be to their resting places in family cemeteries. Evidence of the post-death migration may be found today in the untold numbers of quiet family cemeteries that dot the landscapes of eastern Kentucky

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The Appalachian Mountains have long been a source of some mystery to those who have traveled by and through on interstates built at great cost. Most who drive these roads have a destination somewhere beyond the mountains, and few stop to take in the scenic views afforded at rest areas. The mystery and isolation that describe some mountain communities has all too often appeared as an invitation to do-gooders of all stripes to plant their particular flags and proceed to explain to the mountaineer how he or she must live in order to be part of this successful country.

In the late nineteenth century, the residents of the Appalachian Mountains came under the microscope of social workers, missionaries, health-care workers, educators, and, above all, those who saw the Appalachian dweller as somehow childlike, unsophisticated, and an easy mark. Whether the mountaineers' stories were being told in poetry, music, and novels, or by those who had experienced just enough time in the mountains to be called experts, the stories were often the same: an unsophisticated number of people who had emigrated from Europe and who continued to live much as they had in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many still used the same language inflections as did their European relatives, and, above all, they shunned the outside world and lived without the most fundamental conveniences that most Americans enjoyed. As Americans picked themselves up and dusted themselves off after the Great Depression and two world wars, they found new lives with electricity, better roads, improved medical care, expanded schooling for all children, and an excess of things to buy that stunned them in the amount. This financial bounty was accepted as part of Americans' inherited—and some thought deserved—culture of acquisition, and it was to be revered. When those who had become better acquainted with the mountaineers' lives, or even had grown up in that area, revealed the different, less material-minded nature of many who inhabited the mountains, all those who believed that happiness was to be found in bulging pantries, crowded closets, and modern means of transportation saw the mountaineers as needy, a subset of American culture that was to be pitied, to be patronized, and, most of

all, to be brought out of the Dark Ages to become functioning members of a materialistic society.

Social workers, missionaries, educators, and others refused to grasp, in the beginning, that the mountain residents did not see themselves as needy. The mountains, although no match for the fertile plains of the Midwest, for example, still afforded clean, running water in the streams that fell into small ponds, even lakes, and was safe to drink. Many families existed on the produce that could be raised on small patches that lay within their fenced-in parcels of land. Goats, sheep, pigs, and chickens brought protein to the dinner tables serving a family. Neighbors were near-by, but thick vegetation and peculiar turns in the mountain paths gave families privacy. If trouble arose, neighbors came to help; otherwise, many families kept mostly to themselves. In other words, life in the mountains suited those that lived there.

That is not to say that mountain dwellers were not aware of some of the deficiencies that existed in their chosen life style. Many wished that they and their children could have more education with the possibility of a more stable financial life for the future. The lack of advanced medical care filled many graveyards, and a life based on manual labor may have resulted in shortened life spans. Nevertheless, living in the peace and beauty of the mountains that changed with the seasons was a gift that many with fatter purses might envy.

Within that same way of life, however, many were dependent on the coal mines that needed to be worked in order to keep the industries of the country running smoothly. Mining coal was hard work, back-breaking work, and, for many, a death sentence from either mining accidents or from a daily intake of coal dust that eventually killed the miner with black lung disease. Those families might have had a little more cash on hand, but if the mines shut down for any reason, there was little that they could do. The miner perhaps had sold his little bit of land that had been a garden patch that fed his children to the coal companies, and the coal miner's children might have stopped going to school if they lacked adequate clothing and shoes.

Those who came into the mountains to bring what they saw as necessities of life—education, better housing, and a reliable food supply, as well as the wealth of

material goods that most of America believed to be necessary—too often arrived with a condescending manner and dismissive attitudes. Whatever amenities they had in their homes, the mountaineers must have, as well. The descriptions of some who came bearing gifts is reminiscent of the peddler who carries with him a suitcase of goods. When that suitcase is opened, it is filled with trinkets that attract the eye but are sadly lacking any utilitarian value.

The child living in the mountains may not have been able to add and subtract on paper, but he knew the names and properties of many of the plants growing outside his family's cabin and whether the family's hens had produced enough eggs for breakfast. The family may not have had a serviceable automobile, but they had strong legs made even stronger by the need to travel by foot wherever they wanted to go. The mountain dweller coveted an independence that allowed him to travel across the mountain or down the valley whenever he wished. Most of all, the Appalachian dweller had his religion, and it was a constant companion throughout his life. He may not have been able to read the Bible, but the preacher that came to hold church services usually could or at least had certain passages memorized. The mountain man's belief that he had been placed on earth by God to tend to the parcels of land where he lived was the least tangible, but most important, possession that he had. His religion was his, not something held in trust by a denomination to be bestowed at a later time. If the seasons did not produce a crop, the man or woman living in the mountain saw that as God's check on his or her behavior, and he vowed to live accordingly.

Historians rarely have all of the facts and supporting evidence to decree that any single event has changed the lives of mankind. Wars, natural disasters, even man's own intransigence leave a mark for later generations to interpret. The smallest change in any part of the world can eventually result in a change half a world away. A change in the course of a river can lead to starvation for some and an over-abundance for others. Tracing the effects of the smallest deviance in a man's life can lead to unexpected discoveries, and those discoveries can sometimes predict or record a trend. Charles Darwin's ocean voyage and the Wright brothers' first flight are events that definitely changed human life, but so did the fact that the first woman chosen to be the spokesperson who would refuse to go to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, . .

at the age of fifteen, became pregnant. Claudette Colvin was replaced by Rosa Parks, who became the symbol of blacks' resistance to discrimination. Trends can be seen generations or even millennia later as having changed an entire culture. Whether studying those trends can be useful to the human race, or whether just enjoyed in the same way that some find challenging in putting puzzles together, it is the historians' responsibility to find those events in life that change society forever.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1
Central Kentucky Counties

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Adair County Adair County News June-July 1950								
Turner	M	78	2	Montpelier	Adair Co.			
Irvin	M	NG	0	Germany	Vester	Bearwallow Church	Bearwallow	Bearwallow Cem.
Farris	F	73	0	Coburg	Cane Valley	Cane Valley Christian Church	Same	Cane Valley Cem
Hurt	F	82	0	Breeding	Breeding	Chestnut Grove Christian Church	Same	Chestnut Grove Cemetery
Hindman	F	71	0	Adair Co.	Warren Co.	NG	Grissom FH	City Cemetery
Carter	M	41	0	Manhasset, NY	Campbellsville	NG	NG	NG
Riall	M	69	1	Columbia	NG	Charity Church	Same	Columbia Cemetery
Pollard	M	67	0	Danville	Adair Co.	Pollard's Chapel Methodist Church	Same	Pollard's Chapel Cemetery
Leach	M	68	3	Cincinnati	Sano	Free Union Church	Same	NG
Froedge	F	66	1	Breeding	Same	Breeding Methodist Church	Same	White Hill Cemetery
Feese	F	70	0	Columbia	Same	NG	NG	NG
Stotts	M	64	0	Flatwoods	Adair Co.	NG	Home	Pickett's Chapel Cemetery
Bernard	M	27	0	Garlin	Same	NG	Home	Beulah Chapel Cemetery
Garrison	F	80	1	Columbia	Mill Town Adair Co.	Church of the Nazarene	Same	Family Cem. - Milltown
Hill	M	85	2	Columbia	Sparksville Adair Co.	Big Creek Baptist Church	Price's Creek	Price's Creek Cemetery
Revis	M	43	0	Cane Valley	Saluda, N. C.	Cane Valley Christian Church	Same	Cane Valley Cem
Willis	F	NG	NG	Willows, CA.	Adair Co.	First Baptist Church	Same	NG
Burbridge	F	85	1	Chance, Y.	Chance, KY	Methodist Church	Chance Methodist Ch.	Yates Family Cemetery
Janes	M	78	1	Toria	NG	Mt. Pleasant United Brethren Church	Home	NG
Blankenship	F	75	1	Russell Co.	NG	Ferry's Chapel Baptist Church	Hays Chapel	Family Cem. - Milltown Cemetery
Janes	M	67	2	Chance, Y.	Same	NG	Antioch	Antioch Cemetery
Hutchison	M	84	0	Columbia	Feese's Mill - Adair Co.	Columbia Christian Church	Same	Columbia Cemetery
Janes	F	79	0	Cofer	NG	Chestnut Grove Christian Church	Same	Janes Cemetery
Bragg	F	39	0	Sparksville	Same	Big Creek Baptist Church	Price's Creek Church	Family Cemetery
Wilmore	M	NG	0	Newton, KS	Adair Co.	NG	NG	NG
Conover	M	58	1	Columbia	Same	Tabor Methodist Church	Stotts and Phelps FH	NG
Bault	F	71	0	Adair Co.	Same	Mt.. Carmel Church	Same	Mt. Carmel Cemetery
Kimbler	M	72	2	Ozark	Same	Concord Church	Same	Concord Cemetery
Barnes	M	82	1	Toria	Same	Red Lick Baptist Curch	Same	Family Cemetery
Reynolds	F	78	0	Milltown	NG	Methodist Church	Home	Harmon Cemetery
Blair	F	66	0	Little Cake Adair Co.	NG	Zion Church of God	Same	Dunbar Hill Cemetery
Merkley	F	73	0	Campbellsville	Louisville	Catholic Church - Campbellsville	Same	Lebanon Cemetery
Stone	M	43	3	Adair Co.	Cane Valley	Christian Church	Cane Valley Christian Church	Cane Valley Cemetery

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Adair County Adair County News June-July 1950 (continued)								
Todd	M	75	0	Chicago	Columia	Methodist Church	Skeeles Chapel [Chicago]	Cedar Park Cemetery
Keltner	F	67	0	Gradyville	Adair Co.	Baptist Church	Gradyville Methodist Church	Bragg Family Cemetery
McGowan	M	36	1	Houston, TX	Russell Springs	Methodist Church	Same	City Cemetery
Parks	F	NG	1	Fayette, Alabama	Adair Co.	Baptist Church	Fayette, Alabama	NG
Davis	F	62	0	Knifley	Ash Co., NC	Methodist Church	Barnett's Creek Evan. U. Breth.	Barnett's Creek Cemetery
Hadley	F	87	1	Purdy, KY	NG	Baptist Church	Bearwallow Church	Bearwallow Cemetery
Coffey	M	NG	0	Pellyton, KY	Adair Co.	Pellyton Methodist Church	Same	Pellyton Cemetery
Coffey	M	80	0	Columbia	Adair Co.	Pleasant Ridge Methodist Church	Stotts & Phelps FH	City Cemetery
McFarland	M	79	0	Jamestown	Adair Co.	Jamestown Methodist Church	Same	Jamestown Cemetery
Sneed	M	NG	2	NG	NG	NG	Grissom Chapel	City Cemetery
Pike	F	NG	2	Wadsworth, Ohio	Adair Co.	NG	Hilliards FH	Wadsworth Cemetery
Woodrum	F	75	0	Campbellsville	Adair Co.	Cane Valley Christian Church	Same	Cane Valley Cemetery
Hindman	F	71	0	Hindman	Warren County	Methodist Church	Grissom FH	City Cemetery
Bennett	F	57	3	Paxton, IL	Adair County	Methodist Church	Brown FH	Pine Ridge Cemetery at Loda
Dudley	M	54	6	Hardinsburg, IN	Gradyville	Methodist Church	Gradyville Methodist church	Union Cemetery
Pyle	F	82	0	Chickasha, OK	Adair County	NG	Altus, OK	Altus Cemetery
Keltner	M	61	5	Milltown, KY	Adair County	Milltown Union Church	Stotts & Phelps FH	Garrison Cemetery - Milltown
Sandusky	M	69	0	Sarasota, FL	Adair County	NG	Grissom FH	City Cemetery
Conover	F	74	0	Columbia	Columbia,KY	Columbia-Union Presbyterian Church	Grissom FH	Walker Cemetery - near Columbia
Sherrill	M	35	1	Knifley, KY	Adair County	Dunbar Hill Baptist Church	Same	Dunbar Hill Cemetery
Thomas	F	70	0	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Mt. Pleasant Union Church	Stotts & Phelps FH	Family Cemetery
Adair County Adair County News June 1951-1952								
Romine	F	73	0	Coburg	Adair Co.	Christian Church	Cane Valley Christian Church	Cane Valley Cemetery
Vaughn	F	27	0	Greensburg	Columbia	Methodist Church	Antioch Church	Cane Valley Cemetery
Conrad	F	61	0	Breeding	Fairfield, KY	Presbyterian Church	NG	Valley Hill Cemetery
Kenton County Kentucky Post January 1-5 1974								
Kirst	M	86	4	Highland Heights		St. Catherine Cath.	Same	NG
Pulsfort	M	89	1	Ft. Thomas		St. Catherine Cath.	Same	Ft. Thomas
Forg	M	55	0	Roselawn			Varis FH	
Dunavent	M	56	0	Owen Co.			Smither-Coates FH	
Marksberry	M	82	0	Warsaw		So. Fork Christian		
Sperber	F	83	0	Hamilton Co.				Spring Grove Cem.
Lasonczyk	M	66	2	Brentwood		St. Bart Catholic	Same	
Renner	M	63	0	Mt. Healthy		Heritage UMC		
Branigan	F	65	0	Delhi Pike		Catholic	Motherhouse Chap.	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Kenton County Kentucky Post January 1-5 1974 (continued)								
Sprum	M	76	1	Newark, O.	Bellavue	St. Francis de Sales	Same	
Kramer	F	91	0	Elsmere		First Pres.	Same	
New	F	NG	0	NG	Cincinnati		Hugenberg-Nemeyer FH	
Trimbur	M	75	2	Butler		Corpus Christi Cath.	Same	Newport, KY
Long	M	64	0	Green Twshp			Bolton-Lansford FH	
Bain	M	67	0	Erlanger	Covington	St. Henry Church	Same	
Homan	M	80	0	Covington		St. John Church	Same	
Phillipy	F	50	0	Latonia			Connley Bros. FH	
Schulte	F	84	0	Erlanger		St Henry Church	Same	
Bragel	M	74	0	Meyers Bch, FL			Hugenberg-Nemeyer FH	
Perry	M	NG	0	Crescent Springs				
Dryer	M	69	1	Edgewood				Forest Lawn Cem.
Gillience	F	68	0	Lakeside Park		Blessed Sacrament	Same	
Inabit	F	54	0	Covington	Taylor Mill		Allison & Rose FH	
Fish	M	46	0					
Jones	M	56	2	Blanchestero			Hannah FH	West Woodville Cem.
Nolte	F	92	0	Walnut Hills		St. Clement Church	Same	
Ceary	F	78	1	Hamilton, O.			Webb FH	Rose Hill Burial Park
Graves	M	64	0	Hamilton, O.			Webb FH	Greenwood Cem.
Weigand	M	74	0	Covington		St. Augustine Church	Same	
Fayette County Lexington-Herald May 1986								
Botkin	F	92	0				Kerr Bros. FH	
Coy	M	63	0				Kerr Bros. FH	
Dinsmore	M	68	0				Kerr Bros. FH	
Estes	F	73	0				Johnson's FH - Georgetown	
Rose	M	78	0				Blue GrassMem. FH - Jessamine Co.	
Watson	F	86	0				Flemingsburg - Flemingsburg	
Cartwright	M	59	0				Rogers FH - Frankfort	
Schork	M	42	0				Harrod Bros.FH - Frankfort	
DeRousse	M	52	0				Ransdell FH Chapel - Harrodsburg	
Brewer	M	36	0	Chicago		Mt. Zion Old Reg. Bapt.	Engle FH	
Boyd	M	33	0	Florida		Church Of Christ-Honaker	Hall FH	
Branham	M	63	0		Wheelwright	Pentecostal Ch	Burton-Hall FH	
Waugh	F	80	0		Kendalville, Ind.	Wayland U.M.C.	Hall FH	
Alumbaugh	M	86	0		Sand Gap, KY		Lakes FH	
Bell	F	81	0		Oxford, Ind./Wayne Co.		Hickey FH	
Hicks	F	82	0				Hickey FH	
Molen	M	84	0			Tuttles Chapel MC	Hickey FH	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Fayette County Lexington-Herald May 1986 (continued)								
Gilliam	M	66	0	Taylor,Mich	Pike Co.		Justice FH	
Johnson	F	54	0	Pikeville			Justice FH	
Green	F	71	0		Richmond		Curry,Parsons FH	
Hart	M	64	0	Richmond			ORP	
Correll	F	22	0	Bath Co.			Richardson & Hurst-Owingsville	
James	F	56	0		Lexington		W. R. Milward Mortuary	
Brown	M	94	0				John T. Hawkins FH	
Chapman	F	73	0				Kerr Bros. FH	
Dedmon	F	81	0		Jessamine Co.	Macedonia Bapt.	O. L. Hughes & SonsFH	
Judy	F	62	0				W. R. Milward Mortuary	
Perry	F	54	0			Hunter Presby.Church	W. R. Milward Mortuary	
Gambrel	F	77	0	Bimble			Hopper FH	
Clemmons	M	87	0		Rural Madison Co.		Reppert FH	
Stockton	M	70	0	Burkesville			Ballou FH	
Allison	M	70	0	Burkesville			Matthew-Gaunce FH	Carlisle Cemetery
Miller	M	41	0	Faber		Woodbine Bapt. Church	Vankirk FH	
Mullins	F	85	0	Venters			Bailey FH	
Stamper	M	85	0	Mariba			Menifee FH	
Cole	M	66	0			Cawood Friendship Bap. -	Mount Pleasant FH	
Taulbee	M	79	0	Ary [Hazard]			Engle FH	
Simpson	M	66	0	Helton [Harlan]		Green Hill Pentecostal Church	Mt. Peasant FH	
Pratt	F	79	0	Brinkley		Mallett Fork Reg. Bapt. Church	Hindman FH	
Watts	M	80	0			New Home Reg. Bapt. Church [Leburn]	Hindman FH	
Masters	M	75	0	Jess. Co.			Betts & West FH	
McDaniel	F	86	0	No. Middleton		N. Middleton Christian Church [Paris]	Hinton-Turner FH	
Tackett	F	65	0	Hellier [Pikeville]			Justice FH	
Branham	F	82	0	Floyd Co.			Carter FH	
Mattingly	M	64	0	Springfield		St. Dominics Catholic Church	Hale-Polin-Robinson FH	
Rutherford	M	96	0			Cramer & Hanover Church Of Christ -	Kerr Bros. FH	
Phillips	F	53	0	Lexington			W. R. Milwrd Mortuary	Blue Grass Memoria Gardens - Jessamine Co.
Thomas	M	68	0	Lexington			W. R. Milwrd Mortuary	
Phillips	M	49	0	Germantown		Germantown U.M.C.	Palmer FH	
Hardin	F	65	0	Wilstacy			Breathitt FH	
Byrn	F	77	0	London			House-Rawlings FH	
Cornett	M	27	0	New Carlisle, OK	Harlan Co.		Loyall FH	
Swims	M	80	0	Martin Co.			Hall Fun. Home	
Lykins	F	77	0	Mt. Sterling			Eastin-Taul FH	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Fayette County Lexington-Herald May 1986 (continued)								
Williams	M	71	0	Nicholasville			Guyn, KurtZ, Hager, & Cundiff FH	
Wells	M	89	0	Owingsville			Richardson & Hurley FH	
Myers	M	55	0	Paris, KY			Martyn-Hurley FH	Cedar Heights Cemetery
Moss	M	84	0	Perryville			Wilders FH	
Little	F	89	0	Mullins - [Pikeville]			Justice FH	
Wiley	F	27	0	Science Hill [Nicholasville]		Vaught-Ridge Church Of Christ	Morris & Hislope FH	
Hutcherson	F	78	0	Ferguson		St. Mildred Cath. Church		
Hester	F	48	0	Tucson, AZ	Stanford		Fox FH	
Hall	M	54	0	Pikeville			R. S. Jones & Son FH	
Watkins	F	57	0	Goshen, Ohio	Morgan Co.		Potter FH [West Liberty]	
Allen	M	86	0	Winchester			Scobee FH	
Brown	M	94	0	Lexington	Jessamine Co.	Marble Creek Bapt. Ch		Highland Cemetery
Chatman	F	73	0	Lexington	Lancaster	Trinity Bapt. Church	Kerr Bros. FH	
Smith	M	NG	0			Central Christian Church	W L. Milward Mortuary	
Thomas	F	68	0	Lexington	Woodford Co.	Immanuel Bapt. Church	W. L. Milward Mort. [Southland]	
Warren	M	NG	0	Lexington		S. Elkhorn Christian Church	Kerr Bros. FH	
May	F	91	0	Lexington			W. R. Milward Mort.	
Wheet	M	82	0	Columbia		Columbia First Church Of the Nazarene	Grissom FH	
Marcum	M	34	0	Salvisa [Harrodsburg]			Alexander & Royaly FH	
Hollon	F	78	0	Jackson, KY			Breathitt FH	
Boggs	M	56	0	Lexington		Sariston Pentecostal Church	House-Rawlings FH	
Davis	F	80	0	rural London			House-Rawlings FH	
Mullett	F	67	0	Weeksbury [Martin Co.]		Boston Pentecostal Church Of God	Nelson-Frazier FH	
Conley	F	68	0	rural Morehead			Northcutt & Son Home for Funerals	
Johnson	M	49	0	Clearfield [Morehead]		First Freewill Bapt. Church North	Northcutt & Son Home for Funerals	
Butcher	M	68	0	Mount Sterling		Keas Christian Methodist Church		
Miller	M	73	0	Rural Nicholasville		Trinity Church	Betts & West FH	
Stewart	M	75	0	Sacramento, CA	No. Middleton		Hinton-Turner FH [Paris]	
Markland	M	84	0	Owingsville			Richardson & Hunt FH	
Walls	M	89	0	Owingsville			Richardson & Hunt FH	
Myers	M	55	0	Paris, KY.			Martyn-Hurley FH	
Collins	F	63	0	Prestonsburg			Floyd FH	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Fayette County Lexington-Herald May 1986 (continued)								
Dennis	F	86	0	Waco, KY			Turpin FH	
Hackals	F	76	0	rural Berea			Chicago, IL. ORP FH	
Chestnut	F	71	0	Somerset		Oakhill Bapt. Church	Pulaski FH	
Simpson	F	48	0	Tucson, AZ	Stanford		Fox FH - [Stanford]	
Tate	F	87	0	Frankfort	Versailles		Duell-Clark FH	
Johnson	F	46	0	rural Virgie		Pine Chapel Freewill Bapt. Church		
Berry	M	88	0	Florida	Lexington			Crown Hill Cemetery [Sharpsburg, KY]
Cunningham	F	79	0	Lexington	Mercer Co.	First Baptist Church, Lawrenceburg	Gash Mem. Chapel	Lawrenceville Cemetery
Miller	M	73	0	rural Lexington		Trinity Community Church		Kissing Ridge Cemetery
Farra	M	77	0	Lexington		First Presby. Church	W. R. Milward Mort.	
Merriman	M	60	0	Lexington			Kerr Bros. FH	
Rogers	F	66	0	Lexington		Bue Grass Mem. Gardens Chapel -	Blackburn FH	
Brown	F	86	0	Rural Cartwright[Albany]			Talbott FH	
Jackson	F	80	0	Sampson Hill [Barbourville]			Hopper FH	
Jones	M	68	0	Lily, KY [Corbin]		So. Farriston Missionary Bapt. Church	Hart FH	
Riley	M	43	0	Hamilton, Oh.	Buckhorn	Buckhorn Lake Area Presby. Church	Engle FH	
Taylor	F	92	0	Wheelersburg, OH.	Knott Co.	Little Bethlehem Reg. Bapt. Church	Hindman FH	
Holtzclaw	M	81	0	Irvine			Warren F. Toler FH	
Larison	F	51	0	Eaton, Oh.	Estill Co.	So. Irvine Bapt. Church	Warren F. Toler FH	
Campbell	F	77	0	Bays [Jackson]			Breathitt FH	
Clemons	F	69	0	Rural Jackson			Watts Spencer FH	
Ciccia	F	49	0	Baltimore, Md.	Jenkins		Polly & Craft FH	
Conley	F	68	0	rural Morehead		Morehead First Apostolic Church	Northcutt & Son Home for Fun.	
Mount	M	84	0	Nicholasville		First Presby. Church, Danville	Edgington FH [Winchester]	
Lawrence	M	85	0	Owenton			McDonald FH	
Blackburn	M	59	0	Marrowbone		Samaria Reg. Bapt. Church,	Wolfpit - Justice FH	
Fuller	M	44	0	Hellier			Justice FH	
Rowe	M	90	0	Pikeville			Justice FH	
Hollis	F	72	0	Carlinville, Ill.	Tollesboro		Barbour & Son FH	
Worthington	M	68	0	Rural Maysville			Barbour & Son FH	
Botkins	M	83	0	Vanceburg			Dickerson FH	
Johnson	M	36	0	West Liberty			Potter FH	
McAtee	M	70	0	Williamston			Elliston-Stanley FH	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Fayette County Lexington-Herald May 1986 (continued)								
Colyer	M	64	0	Georgetown	Lexington		Kerr Bros. FH	
Foley	M	85	0	Paris, KY.			Lusk FH	
Medley	F	65	0	Lexington			Cunningham FH	
Miller	F	59	0	Elgin, IL	Lexington	Powell General Bapt. Church -	Wait-Ross-Allison FH [in Elgin, IL]	
Champagne	F	55	0	Lake Charles, LA	Columbia, KY		Grissom FH	
Epperson	M	65	0	Columbia			Grissom FH	Forest Lawn Cemetery
Shelton	M	79	0	Rural Corbin			Hart FH	
Barber	F	67	0	Rural Cynthiana			Drake FH	
Upchurch	M	67	0	Greensburg			Cowherd & Parrott FH	
Fugate	F	59	0	Bonnyman [Hazard]			Maggard FH	
Barlowe	F	69	0	Hazard, KY		Litle Samuel Old Reg. Bapt. At Lothair -	Engle FH	
Gilliam	M	79	0	Rural London, KY			Bowling FH	
Hunt	F	48	0	East Bernstadt [London]			Bowling FH	
Mitchell	M	59	0	Livinston, KY [London]			Bowling FH	
Morgan	F	53	0	Georgetown, Ohio	Laurel Co.		Laurel FH	
Hoskins	F	87	0	Oneida [Manchester]			Britton FH	
Coffey	M	92	0	Tacketts Chapel [Monticello]			Hickey FH	
Wilson	F	83	0	Mt. Sterling			Eastin-Taul FH	
Gilbert	F	60	0	Girdler [Barbourville]			Hopper FH	
Peace	F	79	0	Barbourville			Hopper FH	
Wright	M	69	0	Bow [Burkesville]			Pasco FH in Greenfield, IN	
Sloan	M	64	0	Rural Carlisle [Cynthiana]			Mathers-Gaunce FH	
Isaacs	M	22	0	Topmost [Hindman]		Providence Reg. Bapt. Church At Dry Creek		
Miller	M	65	0	Wilstacy [Jackson]			Watts & Spencer FH	
King	M	15	0	Lexington			Whitehall Funeral Chapel	Blue Grass Mem. Gardens, Jessamine Co.
Jefferson County Louisville Courier Journal November 1934								
Shepherd	F	86	0					
Price	F	71	0					
Bennett	F	57	3	Paxton, IL	Adair Co.	Methodist	Brown FH	Pine Ridge Cem.. - Loda
Dudley	M	54	0			Gradyville Meth.	Brown FH	Union Cem.
White	F	69	5	Casey Co.	Taylor Co.	Mt. Zion Church Of God	Same	White Family Cem.
Boyle	M	NG	0					
Burton	F	89	0	Indiana		Bearwallow Church	Grisson FH	Bearwallow Cem.
Lowe	F	63						
Madison County Richmond Register January 1940								
Denham	M	67	0	Union City	Madison	Doylesville Methodist Church	Same	Richmond Cemetery
Tate	F	92	0	Hoopeston, IL	Clark Co.	First Christian Church	Hoopeston Universalist Ch.	Richmond Cemetery
Handy	M	73	0	NG	Madison Co.	NG	Turpin FH	Family Cemetery - Bybee

TABLE 1 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Madison County Richmond Register January 1940 (continued)								
Powell	M	92	0	Madison Co.	Madison Co.	NG	NG	NG
Adams	M	25	1	Madison Co.	Same	Red House Methodist Church	ORP FH	Richmond Cemetery
Felmet	M	44	0	Richmond	Asheville, NC	Methodist Church	Asheville NC	NG
Cornelison	F	73	0	Irvine	NG	Waco Baptist Church	Same	Richmond Cemetery
Schooler	M	NG	3	Lebanon, OH	Madison Co.	NG	Lebanon	NG
Parker	M	55	0	Madison Co.	Same	NG	NG	NG
Carroll	M	42	0	Danville	Harrodsbug	First Christian Church	Same - Danville	Lexington Cemetery
Whitson	F	95	0	Lexington	Madison Co.	Calvary Baptist	W. R. Milward Mortuary	Lexington Cemetery
Berryman	F	53	1	Ravena	Madison Co.	Ravenna Methodist Church	NG	NG
Steger	F	74	0	Berea	Same	Berea Baptist Church	Same	NG
Flannery	M	88	0	Berea	Same	Berea Christian Church	Same	NG
McKeavey	F	NG	0	Richmond	NG	NG	Boyd FH	Maple Grove Cemetery
Shearer	M	NG	3	Manchester	NG	NG	Boyd FH	Maple Grove Cemetery
Duncan	F	81	0	Berea	Madison Co.	Berea Christian Church	Rominger FH	Berea Cemetery
Madison County Richmond Register July-December 1950								
Taylor	F	79	0	Richmond	Same	Salem Christian	Richmond Cem.	Same
Portwood	M	83	2	Bybee	Mad. Co.	Flatwoods Christian	Bybee Meth.	Hall Cem.
Eden	M	79	0	Clay City	Berea		Wallins Chapel	Church Cem.
Hall	F	79	0	Cincinnati	Mad. Co.		Richmond Cem.	Same
Hisle	M	62	2	Jackson Co.			Pilot Knob Cem.	Same
Johnson	M	61	1	Berea	Same	Silver Creek Bapt.	Same	Berea Cem.
Adams	M	35	0	Richmond	Waco	Flatwoods Christian	Same	Flatwoods Cem.
Smith	M	50	0	Lexington	Jessa.Co.			
Wilson	F	79	0	Doylesville		Doylesville Meth.	Richmond Cem.	Same
Cain	F	80	1	College Hill	Same		Home	Family Cem.
King	M	78	0	Bybee	Mad. Co.	Bybee Meth. Church	Home	Family Cem.
Allen	F	NG	4	Canton, O.	Richmond	First Presbyterian	Old.Rob.Pow. FH	Richmond Cem.
Hester	M	66	0	Berea				Richmond Cem.
Norris	M	NG	1	Cincinnati	Mad. Co.	United Brethren	Chas.MillerSons FH	NG

TABLE 2
Eastern Kentucky Counties

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Knox County Mountain Advocate January-December 1931								
Pittman	M	74	0	Barbourville	Williamsburg	First Baptist Church	Same	City Cemetery
Gatliff	F	84	0	St. Cloud, FL	Barbourville	NG	NG	NG
Evans	M	91	0	Oklahoma	Many Gap in	NG	NG	NG
Sampson	F	97	0	Barbourville	Laurel County	Methodist Church	Residence	NG
McKeehan	M	88	0	Meadow Creek in Whitley County	Same	NG	Mapl Grove	Family Cemetery
Kellems	F	64	0	Red House, KY	Barbourville	Republican Baptist Church	Same	Richmond Cemetery
King	M	77	0	Swan Lake, KY	Bell County	NG	NG	Wells Cemetery
Higgins	F	82	0	Lancaster	NG	Holiness Church at Gray, KY	Same	Helton Cemetery
Helton	M	78	0	Cranes Nest	Knox County	Baptist Church	NG	Helton Cemetery
Smith	F	85	0	Barbourville	Barburville	NG	Residence	City Cemetery
Turner	M	55	0	Knox Cunty	Knox County	Church on Dixie Highway	Same	Jackson Cemtery near Baileys Switch
Tinsley	M	NG	0	NG	Ng	Christian Church	Residence	Vault at City Cemetery
Smith	F	85	0	Barbourville	Crab Orchard	NG	Residence	NG
Miller	F	53	0	Barbourville	Knox County	Methodist Episcopal Church	NG	NG
Foley	F	81	0	Knox County	Russel Co. VA	First Christian Church	Residence	Barbourville Cemetery
Bain	M	NG	0	Barbourville	Barbourville	NG	Residence	City Cemetery
Vaughn	M	70	0	Paint Lick	Knox County	First Christian Church	Same	Barbourville Cemetery
Vaughn	M	82	0	Williamsburg	Knox County	First Christian Church	Same	NG
Rickett	F	75	0	Trosper, KY	NG	Christian Church	Same	Trosper Cemetery
Lewis	F	84	2	Fariston	Knox County	NG	Residence	Old Union Cemetery
Powell County Clay City Times February-April 1943								
Ashcraft	F	87	0	Lee Co., VA	Winchester	NG	Scobee FH [Winchester]	Winchester Cemetery
Benton	M	81	1	Winchester	NG	First Christian Church	Same	Winchester Cemetery
Bowles	M	77	0	Powell Cunty	Jackson County	NG	NG	NG
Burgher	M	73	2	Clay City	Hardwick, KY	Hardwich's Creek Methodist Church	Vaughn's Mill Christian Ch.	Church Cemetery
Garrett	M	91	0	Winchester	Clay City	Clay City Christian Church	Clay City Cemetery	Same
Christopher	M	78	0	Spout Spring	NG	Jackson's Chapel	Same	Jackson's Chapel Cemetery
Dalton	F	51	1	West Bend	Irvine	Ravena Christian Church	Lewis FH [Irvine]	NG
Deaton	F	NG	1	Middleton, Ohio	Clay City	NG	NG	Family Cemetery [Campton]
Estes	F	92	0	Montgomery & Powell Co.	Lee County	NG	NG	NG
Estes	M	66	3	Clay City	Hardwick	Vaughn's Mill Christian Church	Kennon Cemetery	Kennon Cemetery
Ewen	M	60	4	Slade, KY	Bath Co.	NG	NG	NG
Fox	M	51	0	Winchester	Same	Corinth Baptist Church	Winchester Cemetery	Winchester Cemetery
Hall	F	NG	5	NG	NG	NG	NG	NG
Johnson	F	NG	1	Winchester	NG	Christian Church	Same	Christian Church Cemetery
McCauley	F	NG	2	Cynthiana	Same	Cynthiana Christian Church	NG	Battle Grove Cemetery
Miller	F	72	1	NG	NG	NG	Pilot View	Dawson Cemetery

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Powell County Clay City Times February-April 1943 (continued)								
Willoughby F		63	0	Cincinnati	NG	NG	Cow Creek Church	Cow Creek Cemetery
Murphy	M	45	0	Buffalo, NY	Campton	Campton Methodist Church	Same	Evans Cemetery [Campton]
Mize	M	84	0	Clay City	Same	Ravenna Methodist Church	Lewis FH [Irvine]	Clay City Cemetery
Profitt	F	NG	2	Campton	Fincastle	NG	NG	Fincastle
Puckett	F	NG	2	Marble Yard	Same	NG	NG	Abney Cemetery
Stamper	M	58	0	Spout Spring	Thomas Co., GA	Methodist Church	NG	NG
Tipton	M	82	1	Hardwick's Creek	Vaughn's Mill	NG	NG	Kennon Cemetery
Tipton	M	39	0	Spencer County	Same	Baptist Church	Elk Creek Baptist Church	Church Cemetery
Walters	M	73	3	Clay City	Same	Powell's Valley Baptist Church	Same	Church Cemetery
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise January-March 1960								
Lyttle	M	59	1	Harlan	Harlan County	Mountain Assembly of God	Same	Boggs Cemetery
Andrews	M	69	0	Buffalo, NY	Harlan County	First Presbyterian Church	Central Pres. Church - Buffalo	NG
Wittenbarger	F	77	1	Cumberland	Tennessee	Central Baptist Church	Same	Creech Cemetery
Howard	M	70	0	Bowling Green, KY	Wallins	Harlan Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetgery
Jackson	F	87	1	Cumberland	Harlan County	Old Regular Baptist church	Same	Sand Hill Cemetery - Cumberland
Hyden	M	45	0	Harlan	Virginia	Kellyy Steet Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Seale	M	81	0	Harlan	Indianpolis	NG	NG	NG
Wilson	M	89	1	Wallins	Harlan County	Christian Church	Loyall FH	Daniels Cemetery
Johnson	M	77	2	Harlan	Middlesboro	NG	NG	NG
Shadrich	M	73	0	Harlan	NG	North Evarts Baptist Church	Same	Old Creech Cemetery
Pennington	M	69	2	Neff	Neff, KY	Elm Street Church of Christ	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Noel	M	71	3	Harlan	Bellevue, KY	First Presbyterian Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Wenger	M	NG	3	Harrogate, TN	NG	NG	NG	Harrowgate, Tan
Hudson	M	77	1	Kitts	NG	NG	Harlan FH	Kitts Cemetery
Ross	M	75	1	Bardo	NG	Mountain Assembly Church of God	Same	Stanfill Cemetery
Brown	M	68	0	Baxter	Rockcastle County	Providence Church of Christ	Same	Brodhead
Harris	M	71	2	Baxter	NG	NG	Family Residence	Resthaven Cemtery
Carter	M	48	0	Cumberland	Bluefield, VA	Cumberland Methodist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Duff	M	67	1	Ages, KY	Ages, KY	Ages Church of God Mountain Assembly	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Farmer	F	63	1	Grays Knob	NG	Grays Knob Church of God	Same	Family Cemetery
Wilson	M	67	4	Liggett	NG	Liggett Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Richardson	M	67	6	Clovertown	Jellico, TN	Clover Street Church of God	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Cowden	F	85	0	Raymondville, TX	Harlan County	Harlan Methodist Church	Raymondville Methodist Ch.	Church Cemetery
Ratliff	F	72	0	Sunshine, KY	NG	Dressen Church of God	Same	Chad Cemetery near Cumberland

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise January-March 1960 (continued)								
Hogg	F	69	3	Lynch	NG	Old Regular Baptist Church	Same	Huff Cemetery
Barton	F	85	0	Loyall	Manchester, TN	Loyall Methodist Church	Same	NG
Safriet	F	100	0	Jacksonville, FL	No. Car. Williamsburg, KY	Baptist Church	Jacksonville, FL	Same
Pope	M	97	0	Laurel County	Harlan County	Mt. Carmel Christian Church	Same	Landrum Cemetery
Lundy	F	47	0	Stringtown	NG	NG	NG	NG
McIntosh	F	63	1	Coxton	NG	NG	Harlan FH	Ages Cemetery
Turner	F	91	0	Wallins	Clay County	Kentennia Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Pursiful	F	61	1	Middlesboro	Loyall	Williams Branch Baptist Church	Resthaven Cemetery	Same
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise July-September 1960								
VanBever	F	73	0	Pineville	NG	NG		Burial Site
Harris	M	76	0	Danvillle	Baxter	Baxter Church of Christ	Same	Cooper Cemetery - Baxter
Dalton	F	68	0	Kitts	Tennessee	NG	Anderson-Lewis FH	Resthaven Cem.
Walters	F	53	0	Sunshine, KY	NG	Sunshine Bapt. Church	Same	Resthaven Cem.
Howard	M	63	1	Loyall	NG	Loyall First Baptist Church	Same	Family Cemetery - Loyall
Miracle	m	79	1	Page	Bell County	Williams Branch Primitive Baptist Church	Same	Family Cemetery - Page
Gurley	M	62	2	Loyall	Jacksonville, FL	NG	NG	NG
Lankford	F	51	6	Clovertown	NG	Rex Pentecostal Church	Same	Kitts Mexico Cemetery
Evans	M	60	1	Lynch	Bessermer, Alabama	Goode Temple Church [Lynch]	Same	Lincoln Cemetery - Bessemer
Williams	F	72	0	Harlan	NG	NG	Anderson-Lewis FH	Resthaven Cemetery
Westerfield	M	49	0	Baxter	Same	Harlan Baptist Church	Same	McHargue Cemetery [Corbn]
Maggard	M	41	0	Cumberland	Harlan Co.	NG	Cumberland	Creech-Maggard Cemetery
Blanton	M	74	0	Wallins	Same	NG	NG	Blanton Cemetery [Tremont]
King	M	55	2	NG	Harlan Co.	Evarts Nazarene Church	Same	Spring Branch Cemetery
Stanifer	M	72	6	Harlan	NG	Rex Pentecostal Church [Kitts]	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Lewis	F	72	0	Blair	Same	NG	Blair Chapel	Family Cemetery - [Blair]
Jones	M	35	5	Cincinnati	Verda	Jones Creek Baptist Church	Same	Rainbow Cemetery - [Verda]
Smith	M	80	0	Dressen	Harlan Co.	NG	Harlan FH Chapel	Tweed Cemetery at Black Joe
Andriga	M	78	2	Lynch	Hungary	Catholic Church of the Resurrection	Same	Catholic Cemetery [Lynch]
Johnson	M	39	0	Cawood	Virginia	NG	Family Home	Yellow Hill Cemetery - [Middlesboro]
Cavins	M	85	1	Clinchoo, VA	Wilhoit	Mill Creek Free Will Baptist Chrch	Same	Deel Cemetery - [Virtinia]

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise July-September 1960 (continued)								
Huff	F	76	1	Holmes Mill	Letcher Co.	Black Bottom Church of God	Same	Blair Cem. [Allentown, KY]
Hensley	M	71	1	Harlan	Cawood	First Presbyterian Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Edwards	F	70	1	Corbin	Richmond	Disciples of Christ	NG	NG
Fox	F	69	3	Coxton	Tennessee	NG	Mount Pleasant FH	Resthaven Cemetery
Hensley	M	83	2	Mary Alice, KY	Harlan Co.	Pansy Christian Church	Same	Knox Fork Cemetery
Sharp	F	29	4	Wallins	Same	Wallins Church of God	Same	Resthaven Memoria Garden
Ivy	M	70	1	Cawood	Harlan Co.	NG	Son's home	Grays Knob Cemetery
Simpson	M	31	5	Coldiron	NG	Riverside Church of God	Same	Coldiron Cemetery
Walden	F	82	2	London, KY	Crummies	Slate Hill Baptist Church	Same	Church Cemetery [London]
Evans	F	72	3	Red Bud	NG	Red Bud Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Wynn	F	84	0	Verda	Harlan Co.	Black Mountain Methodist Church	Joe Dean Chapel at Jones Crk.	Rainbow Cemetery [Jones Creek]
Jones	M	82	0	Sunshine, KY	NG	NG	Mount Pleasant FH	
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise September-December 1960								
Eagle	M	72	0	Harlan	Jonesville, VA	Methodist Church	Same	
Spurlock	F	54	1	Wallins, KY	NG	Pentecostal Church of God	Same	Harlan
Earls	M	56	1	Stanfill	NG	NG	Brewer Chapel [**Tenn.]**	Resthaven Mem. Garden
Brock	M	26	7	Chicago, IL	Coldiron, KY	Laymon Holiness Church	Same	Burke Cemetery near Sneedville
Carr	M	64	0	Evarts	NG	NG	NG	Laymon Cemetery
Marcum	M	73	3	Harlan	NG	NG	Mt. Pleasnt FH	Memorial Garden
Brock	F	67	0	Harlan	Oregon	Pentecostal Church of God	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Fannon	M	53	2	South Harlan	NG	Elcomb Baptist Church	Same	Brock Cemetery at Happy Top
Cornett	M	29	2	Newport, KY	Brookside	Four Mile Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Wilson	F	79	1	Bledsoe	NG	E.U.B. Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Jones	M	70	3	Cumberland	NG	NG	NG	Sims Branch Cemetery Helton. KY
Hogg	F	92	0	Cumberland	Same	Old Regular Baptist Church	Same	Black Mountain Cemetery
Richardson	F	36	0	Harlan	Same	Clover Street Church of God	Same	Huff Cemetery
Hensley	F	85	1	Kenvir	Same	Britains Creek Baptist Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
Ball	M	76	0	Dressen, KY	Harlan Co.	Harlan Christian Church	Harlan FH Chapel	Kenvir No. 31 Cemetery
Ross	F	66	0	Evarts	NG	Evarts Nazarene Church	Same	Ball Cemetery at Dressen
King	M	28	0	Verda	NG	Turner Baptist Church	Same	Goodin Cemetery Tinsley, KY
Surrett	F	60	3	Evarts	Harlan Co.	Evarts Baptist Church	Same	Turner Cemetery

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Harlan County Harlan Enterprise September-December 1960 (continued)								
Martin	F	47	1	Detroit	Wallins	NG	Wallins Church of God	Resthaven Cemetery
Duff	M	79	1	Keith, KY.	Same	House of Prayer	Same	Garden of Devotion Cemetery
Patterson	M	86	0	Pineville	NG	NG	NG	Duff Cemetery Helton, KY
Hensley	M	64	7	Cawiid	Same	Cawood Church of God	Same	NG
Presley	M	40	2	Memphis, TN	Dizney -Harlan Co.	Locust Grove Baptist Church	Same	Cawood Cemetery
Collins	M	53	0	Virginia	Loyall	Four Mile Baptist Church	Same	Dizney Cemetery
Thompson	F	84	0	Detroit	Coalgood	NG	Harlan FH Chapel	Resthaven Cemetery
Creech	M	81	3	Pine Mountain	Same	Pine Muntain Christian Church	Pine Mountain Chapel	Resthaven Cemetery
Howard	M	82	0	Harlan	Baxter	NG	Harlan FH Chapel	Creech Family Cemetery
Saylor	F	83	2	Wallins, KY	Same	Free Pentecostal Church	Same	Resthaven Cemetery
York	F	74	1	Wallins, KY	NG	Free Pentecostal Church	Same	Garrett Cemetery Lonton, KY
Middleton	M	26	1	Middlesboro	NG	Red Bud Baptist Church	Same	Mile Branch Cemetery Kenvir
Johnson County Paintsville Herald January-April 1959								
Pelphrey	M	69	6	Paintsville	Johnson County	United Baptist Church	Beech Wal United Baptist Ch.	
Dills	M	81	0	Ashland	Johnson County	United Baptist Church	NG	NG
Salyer	M	70	1	Waverly, OH	Magoffin County	Vine Street Enterprise Baptist Church	Same	NG
Walls	F	44	1	Van Lear	Floyd County	Freewill Baptist Church	Parental residence	Tackett Cemetery on State Fork Road
Pruner	F	67	1	Greentown	Denver, KY	NG	Preston FH	Government Cemetery at Auxier
Blevins	F	82	3	Paintsville	Kerz, KY	First Freewill Baptist Church	Same	Fairchild Cemetery at Southside
Fitch	M	71	1	Meally	Meally, KY	Buffalo United Baptist Church	Same	Family Cemetery at Staffordsville
Stambaugh	F	68	8	Volga	Red Bush	United Baptist Church	NG	Fitch Cemetery at Meally
Bryant	M	44	3	Springfield, OH	Johnson County	Enterprise Baptist Church	Same	NG
Click	F	47	4	Riceville	Riceville	Riceville Freewill Baptist Church	Same	Conley Cemetery at Joe's Creek
Middaugh	M	73	7	Portsmouth, OH	Johnson County	NG	NG	Perkins Cemetery - Riceville
Chandler	M	75	1	Lowmansville	Lawrence County	Enterprise Baptist Church	Same	Lucasville Cemetery
Friend	M	88	5	Indianapolis	West Van Lear Elliott County	NG	Jones and Preston FH	Family Cemetery - Lowmansville Combo Cenetary of West Van Lear
Conley	M	69	1	Oil Springs	Oil Springs	Oil Springs Methodist Church	Same	
Caudill	M	81	3	Ostrander, OH	Oil Springs	United Baptist Church	Bennett-Brown Chapel	Litteral Cemetery

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Johnson County Paintsville Herald January-April 1959 (continued)								
Burchett	M	75	0	Floyd County	Floyd County	NG	Residence	Oak Grove Cemetery
Hatfield	M	70	9	Lowmansville	Lowmansville	Lowmansville Enterprise Baptist Church	Same	Davidson Memorial at Ivel
Short	M	80	3	NG	NG	Christian Church	Family Residence	Hatfield Cemetery at Lowmansville
Scarberry	M	70	3	Nipps	Nippa	Freewill Baptist Church	Mouth of Rush Freewill Bap.Ch	NG
Delong	F	38	1	East Point	East Point	Church of Christ	Residence	Castle Cemetery
Wheeler	M	84	0	Paintsville	Hood's Fork Section	First Methodist Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Welch	F	79	0	Paintsville	Johnson County	Meally Church of Christ	Same	NG
Kimbleton	M	81	2	Paintsville	Morgan County	NG	Jones and Preston FH	Family Cemetery - Concord
Conley	M	67	2	Hager Hill	Johnson County	NG	Jones and Preston FH	Family Cemetery - Win, KY
Blevins	F	83	0	NG	NG	NG	NG	Family Cemetery - Hager Hill
Meade	M	36	0	Hammond	White House, KY	Hammond Church of Christ	Same	NG
Caddy	M	75	0	Pikesville	England	NG	NG	Wilson Cemeery - Spicy Gap, KY
Stapleton	F	65	3	Winifred, KY	Portsmouth, OH	Old Hood Fork United Baptist Church	Same	NG
Castle	M	79	1	Louisville	Johnson County	Deer Park Baptist Church	Emerson FH	Family Cemetery - Winifred
Fraley	M	82	3	Greentown	Lawrence County	NG	Jones and Preston FH	Manassas, VA
Rowland	F	81	1	Relief	Johnson County	NG	Residence	Family Cemetery - Charlie, KY
Kirk	F	56	0	Pikeville	Pikeville	First Presbyterian Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Chambers	M	77	1	Clothier, WV	Rum Junction	Methodist	NG	Family plot at City Cemetery
Tackett	M	71	1	Staffordsville	Johnson County	NG	Residence	NG
Wells	M	68	5	Daniels Creek Sect.	Johnson County	NG	Residence	Family Cemetery - Staffordsville
Brown	M	62	1	West Van Lear	Kerz/Johnson Co.	Cannon Chapel Methodist Church	Mayo Methodist Church	Family Cemetery - Daniels Creek near Van Lear
Sherman	F	75	0	Gray's Branch Johnson County	Johnson County	Greenup Methodist Church	Same	Williamsburg, OH Cemetery
Pack	M	82	4	West Van Lear	Morgan County	Cedar Grove United Baptist Church	Same	
Fitch	M	54	1	Ashland	Paintsville	NG	Miller FH	Family Cemetery - Morgan County
Wells	M	34	0	Boons Camp	Boons Camp	NG	Residence	Ashland Cemetery
Picklesimer	M	70	7	Volga	Sitka, KY	NG	NG	Family Cemetery - Morgan County
Webb	M	53	10	Wabash, IN	Van Lear		NG	Family Cemetery at Volga
Hyden	M	28	0	Johns Creek	Johnson County	Philadelphia Church of Christ	Same	Family Cemetery - Van Lear
Caudill	M	76	1	Oil Springs	Oil Springs	Oil Springs Methodist Church	Same	Family Cemetery - Johns Creek
Fox	F	57	0	Hampton, VA	Paintsville	East Hampton Methodist Church	Same	Family Cemetery

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Johnson County Paintsville Herald January-April 1959 (continued)								
Cantrell	F	62	2	Paintsville	Magoffin County	Lick Fork United Baptist Church	Same	Oakland Cemetery
Trimble	M	57	0	Volga	Johnson County	Cannon Chapel Methodist Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Ward	M	92	0	Meally	Johnson County	Buffalo United Baptist Church	Same	Blanton Cemetery - Volga
Williams	F	72	1	Red Bush	Virginia	Enterprise Baptist Church	Red Bush Enterprise Baptist Ch	Ward Cemetery - Meally
Ward	M	78	0	Boons Camp	Martin County	Little Friendship Church at Boons Camp	Same	Family Cemetery
Keaton	F	87	0	Red Bush	Morgan County	Smith's Creek United Baptist Church	Same	Mollett Cemetery - Boons Camp
Hall	M	65	1	Hampden, VA	Meally, KY	Church of Christ	Same	Family Cemetery - Morgan County
Hubbard	M	NG	4	NG	NG	NG	Jones and Preston FH	Short Cemetery - Meally
Stambaugh	F	68	9	Volga	Red Bush	Old Bethel United Baptist Church	Same	Wells Cemetery - Auxier
LeMaster	M	33	2	Flint, MI	Leander	Riceville Freewill Baptist church	Same	Family Cemetery - Volga
Ratliff	M	86	4	Barnetts Creek	Barnetts Creek	Missionary Baptist Church	Green Valley School	Family Cemetery
LeMaster	M	54	0	Catlettsburg	Johnson County	West Catlettsburg Methodist Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Woods	F	78	2	Lowmansville	Morgan County	Freewill Baptist Church	Staffordsville Freewill Bapt. Ch.	Oil Springs Cemetery
Ward	M	67	6	Southside	Magoffin County	Enterprise Baptist Church	Residence	Family Cemetery - Staffordsville
Hampton	F	44	0	Paintsville	Staffordsville	First Church of God	H. S. Gymnasium	Family Cemetery - Southside
May	M	76	6	West Van Lear	Wayne County, WV	Church of God	Van Lear Freewill Baptist Ch.	Butler Cemetery - Staffordsville
Fairchild	F	90	1	Hager Hill	Johnson County	West Van Lear Church of Christ	Same	NG
Robinson	M	65	1	Paintsville	Logan, WV	Mayo Memorial Church	Same	Family Cemetery - Hager Hill
Hubbard	F	74	4	Auxier	Blue Creek, WV	Christian Church	NG	Wells-Buckingham Cemetery
Salyer	M	90	2	Flat Gap	Flat Gap	United Baptist Church	Bethel Church at Flat Gap	NG
Davis	F	80	2	Staffordsville	Chandlersville	United Baptist Church	Sugar Grove United Baptist Ch	Family Cemetery - Flat Gap
Letcher County Mountain Eagle January 1960								
Disney	F	68	1	NG	Tennessee	NG	NG	
Quillen	M	71	2	NG	NG	First Church of God	NG	Mayking Cemetery
Gilley	M	70	0	Millstone	Whitaker	Freewill Baptist Church	Same	NG
Webb	M	69	3	Mayking	NG	Regular Baptist Church	Same	Same - Cemetery
Baker	M	50	0	Boone County	NG	Madison Baptist Church	Same	Webb Cemetery
Vanover	M	71	0	Neon	NG	NG	NG	Madison Memorial Cemetery

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Letcher County Mountain Eagle January 1960 (continued)								
Boggs	M	79	0	Dongola, KY	NG	NG	Cowan Chapel Church	Thornton Cemetery
Watts	M	66	3	Line Fork	NG	NG	NG	Dianah Blair Cemetery
Fields	M	69	0	Day, KY	NG	NG	Day, KY	Family Cemetery at Campbell Branch
Sargent	M	NG	0	Thornton	Letcher County	NG	Family Residence-Thornton	Family Cemetery at Day, KY
Bowen	F	NG	1	Sand Lick	NG	NG	NG	Family Cemetery - Thornton
Fields	F	65	0	Day, KY.	NG	NG	Family Residence - Day, KY	Colson Cemetery
Whitaker	F	NG	0	Payne Gap, KY	NG	Freewill Baptist Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Garrett	M	68	4	Whitesburg	NG	NG	NG	Bentley Cemetery
Chamblee	M	75	0	LaFayette, TN	Alabama/ Letcher & Perry Counties	Church of God	NG	NG
Hampton	M	28	0	Thornton	Letcher County	NG	Residence	
Elam	M	76	2	NG	NG	NG	NG	Family Cemetery - Camp Branch
Adkins	F	72	1	Alexandria,VA	NG	NG	Craft FH	NG
Miles	F	65	0	Premium, KY	NG	NG	Residence	Family plot, Sand Lick Cemetery
Breeding	M	76	0	Colson	NG	NG	Craft FH	Van Frasier Cemetery
Cury	M	56	0	Neon	NG	FirstChurch of God, Neon	Same	NG
Kyle	F	65	0	Dunham	NG	Freewill Baptist Church	Same	Powell Valley Memorial Cemetery
Francis	M	32	1	New York	Carcassone	NG	Craft FH	North Carolina
Raleigh	M	85	2	Partridge, KY	NG	NG	Blair's Chapel	Jenkins Cemetery
Maggard	M	87	0	Letcher County	NG	NG	Parson Schoolhouse	Maggard Cemetery at Partridge
Miles	M	47	1	Bell Craft	NG	Regular Baptist Church	Same	NG
Taylor	F	81	2	NG	Tennessee	NG	Craft FH	Jefferson Memorial Gardens
Sexton	M	55	0	Whitesburg	NG	NG	Craft FH	Perry County
Williams	F	77	0	Whitesburg	NG	First Baptist Church	Same	Sandlick Cemetery
Blair	M	NG	0	Whitesburg	Cowan Creek	NG	Mountain Home Veteran's Hospital	Hospital Cemetary
Smith	F	68	1	Coal Spring	NG	Coal Spring Regular Baptist Church	NG	
Wolfe	M	54	0	Burdine	Pennsylvania	Dunham Freewill Baptist Church	Same	NG
Crase	F	78	1	NG	Baker, KY.	Seventh Day Adventist	Residence	J. M. Maggard Cemetery at Eolia
Bates	F	73	4	Whitesburg	Breathitt County	Baptist Church	Payne Gap Freewil Baptist Ch.	Thornton Cemetery
Webb	F	90	0	Kona	Almira, VA	NG	Residence	Whitaker Cemetery at Seco.
Wright	M	74	1	Dorton, KY	Beefhide, KY	NG	Residence	Webb Cemetery at Mayking
Litteral	M	54	0	Mayking	London, KY	NG	Cram Creek Church	Sowards Cemetery at Beefhide

TABLE 2 (continued)

Name	Gender	Age at Death	# Siblings or Children Living in Northern Cities	Address at Death	Native of/ Formerly of	Church Affiliataion	Funeral Site	Burial Site
Letcher County Mountain Eagle January 1960 (continued)								
Bates	M	42	0	Fleming	NG	Church of God, Neon	Same	Adams Cemetery at Cram Creek
Caudill	F	83	0	Jeremiah, KY	NG	NG	Residence	Whitaker Cemetery at Seco.
Breeding	M	86	1	Colson, KY	NG	NG	Craft FH	Spring Branch Cemetery
Richardson	M	74	0	Democrat, KY	Letcher County	NG	Craft FH	NG
Adams	F	80	3	Spring Branch	NG	Blair Branch Church	Same	Riley Bentley Cemetery
Williams	F	85	0	Whitesburg	Letcher County	NG	Craft FH	NG
Bentley	F	80	0	Deane, KY	Letcher County	First Church of God, Neon	Same	Williams Cemebery
Pittman	M	64	0	Jackhorn	West Virginia	Hemphill Freewill Baptist Chrch	Same	Riley Bentley Cemetery at Deane
Hall	M	68	0	Jackhorn	Letcher County	NG	Residence at Jackhorn	Thornton Cemetery
Breeding	M	72	1	Colson, KY	NG	Rebecca Regular Baptist Church	Same	Mill Creek Cemeery at Deane
Bates	M	56	3	Seco, KY	NG	Little Rock Regular Baptist Church	Same	NG
Lucas	F	81	0	Marlowe	NG	NG	Residence of family	Bates Cemetery
Maggard	M	72	0	Van, KY	NG	Little Colly Regular Baptist Church	Same	Lucas Cemetery at the head of Spring Branch
Brown	M	64	2	Detroit, MI	NG	Thornton Regular Baptist Church	Same	Family Cemetery
Bowen	F	77	0	Colson, KY	Letcher County	NG	Craft FH	Holbrook Cemetery at Sergent

VITA

Marjorie Fey Farris was born on a farm in western Iowa, near Sioux City, on June 17, 1937. She first attended a country school and later a public school at Anthon, Iowa, graduating in 1955. In September 1955, she enrolled at Wayne State Teachers' College (WSTC) in Wayne, Nebraska, where she obtained a certificate to teach at the elementary level. After four years of teaching kindergarten, she returned to WSTC and completed a double major in English and elementary education. She graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in April 1963. After teaching for seven years in Davenport, Iowa, she married and moved to Richmond, Kentucky. In 1986, she enrolled at Eastern Kentucky University (EKU) as a graduate student in English, obtaining a Master's degree in English in December, 1989. In January 2011, she reenrolled at EKU working toward a Master's degree in History. She is currently retired and lives in Richmond, Kentucky.